

A CHRONICLE OF THE EARLY ŞAFAWIS

Being the

AḤSANU'T-TAWĀRĪKH

of

ḤASAN-I-RÜMLÜ

VOL. II

*(English Translation)*

*Translated by*

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**Oriental Institute**

**Baroda**

**1934**

Printed by P. Knight at the Baptist Mission Press, 41A, Lower  
Circular Road, Calcutta, and Published by Benoytosh  
Bhattacharyya, Director, Oriental Institute,  
Baroda, on behalf of the Government  
of His Highness the Maharaja  
Gaekwad of Baroda.

**Price Rs. 8-8-0.**



## PREFACE

This volume contains a concise translation of Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū's Aḥsanu't-tawārīkh. I have omitted the poetry, Qurānic quotations, and exaggerated descriptive passages, and condensed many other passages, but have endeavoured to reproduce everything of practical value. A short introduction precedes, and some general explanatory notes follow, the translation. For these notes I have consulted the relevant parts of original Persian authorities—the Ḥabību's-siyar, Lubbu't-tawārīkh, Jahān Ārā, Sharafnāma, Ta'rīkh-i-Ālam-Arāy-i-Abbāsī, Ta'rīkh-i-Qipchāqkhānī, Ta'rīkh-i-badī'a, Zafarnāma, and other works—besides Mrs. Beveridge's translation of the Bāburnāma, and Elias and Ross' translation of the Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī. To Mrs. Beveridge's Bāburnāma I am especially indebted. I have also made use of such standard works as Howorth's *History of the Mongols* (cited as Howorth), Brosset's *Histoire de Géorgie* (Brosset), Charmoy's *Fastes de la Nation Kurde* (Charmoy), Browne's *Literary History of Persia* (Browne), Hammer-Purgstall's *Turkish History*, Curzon's *Persia*, etc. Certain persons and places I have, nevertheless, been unable to identify.

I have transliterated names according to the system generally adopted in India.

C. N. SEDDON.



## INTRODUCTION

### I

It was in 616 A.H. (1219 A.D.) that Chingīz Khān and his hordes of savage Mongols burst upon the empire of the Khwārazm Shāhs, and carried ruin and destruction throughout Persia and the greater part of the Moslem world. Chingīz died in 624 A.H. (1227 A.D.), and was succeeded by his third son Ūghatāy. Kuyūk followed Ūghatāy in 644 A.H., and on his death the supreme power passed to Mangū, a son of Chingīz Khān's youngest son Tūlūy. Soon after this Hūlāgū, Mangū's brother, headed a great expedition to Persia, in the course of which the stronghold of the Assassins at Alamūt was destroyed, and Baghdād was taken and the last 'Abbāsīd Khalīfa killed. Hūlāgū established himself at Marāgha near Tabriz, and died there in 663 A.H. From him were descended the Persian Ilkhāns, who ruled over Persia till they fell victims to the inevitable decay which comes upon all Oriental despotic dynasties. From the death of Abū Sa'īd in 736 A.H. Persia was split up into provinces ruled by their own Chiefs, till, in 782 A.H. the Barlās Turk Tīmūr began the campaigns which overthrew them all. The flaming sword of this great conqueror carried ruin and death from Delhi to Asia Minor, and from Baghdād to the confines of China. He died at Uṭrār in 807 A.H.

Tīmūr was succeeded by his fourth son Shāh Rukh, whose prosperous and enlightened reign lasted till 850 A.H., when he died at the old city of Ray, near the modern capital Tehrān. During the next few years various descendants of Tīmūr enjoyed brief power, struggling with the rival clans of the Black and White Sheep Turkmāns. The most notable figure among these Tīmūrids was Sultān Abū Sa'īd, whose headquarters were at Herāt. He suffered defeat and death at the hands of the famous Uzūn Ḥasan of the White Sheep Turkmāns in 873 A.H., and, two years later, the rule over Herāt and Khurāsān passed to another Tīmūrid, Sultān Ḥusayn, whose power was at its height shortly before our chronicle opens. In 900 A.H. we find Sultān Ḥusayn's Court at Herāt a centre of literature and learning. But it was menaced by two dangers—the

disaffection of his sons and the rising power of the Uzbek confederacy. Our chronicle shows how these dangers destroyed Ḥusayn's family as soon as he himself was gone.

Sultān Ḥusayn's kingdom was Herāt, and Khurāsān, and Astarābād, and as far east as Balkh. Further east members of Sultān Abū Sa'īd's family held sway. Thus Sultān Aḥmad ruled in Samarqand—succeeded by Maḥmūd and then by Maḥmūd's son 'Alī; 'Umar Shekh was king of Farghāna, till he died in 899 A.H., when his famous son Bābur, then eleven years old, took his place. Meanwhile on the other side of Persia there had arisen the power of the Black and White Sheep Turkmāns. The Black Sheep (Qarā Quyūnlū, or Bārānī) Turkmāns of Āzarbāyjān gradually obtained possession of most of the Persian provinces, and Jahānshāh, their Chief, held nearly the whole of Persia save Khurāsān and the Caspian districts. But in 872 A.H. this prince was defeated and slain by Uzūn Ḥasan, the Chief of the White Sheep (Āq Quyūnlū, or Bāyandur) Turkmāns, whose history requires somewhat more notice, for it was their power that Ismā'il Ṣafawī broke and destroyed.

The Bāyandur or Āq Quyūnlū Turkmāns came from Asia Minor. Their most famous ruler was the well-known Uzūn Ḥasan (Ḥasan Longshanks), who by his victory over Jahānshāh in 872 A.H. obtained the overlordship of most of Persia. A year later Sultān Abū Sa'īd marched from Khurāsān against him. But Abū Sa'īd's army fell short of supplies, and he took refuge in Shīrwān, trusting in the succour of the Shīrwān king Farrukh Yasār. Farrukh Yasār, fearing the threats of the Bāyandur Amīr, gave him no help, and he was surprised, defeated, and put to death by Uzūn Ḥasan (873 A.H.). A few years later Ḥasan engaged the Ottoman Turks, by whom he was defeated, near Tarjān, in 879 A.H. (August, 1474 A.D.). This defeat hardly affected Ḥasan's power in Persia. Nor did the rebellion of his son, Ughūrlū Muḥammad, who fled to Constantinople, where he was well received by the Turkish Sultān and given a Turkish princess.

Ḥasan died in 882 A.H., and was succeeded by his son Khalīl; Khalīl, after reigning for a few months, was killed by his brother Ya'qūb, who was crowned by the help of a certain Ṣūfī Khalīl of Mawṣil, and reigned at Tabrīz till his death in 895 A.H. Ya'qūb

was succeeded by his son Bāysunqur, whose chief supporter was one Sulaymān Bizhan. But there was another grandson of Uzūn Ḥasan, Rustam Beg bin Maqṣūd bin Ḥasan. He had been confined in the castle of Alanchiq, near Nakhchiwān, in the course of the fighting which ensued on Ya'qūb's death. Ibrāhīm bin Dāna Khalīl (better known as Ayba Sultān), a powerful Chief of the Qājār tribe, effected Rustam's release, and marched against Sulaymān and Bāysunqur. Sulaymān fled to Diyārbakr, where he was killed, and Bāysunqur escaped to Shīrwān. So Rustam was brought to Tabriz, and set upon the throne. It is this Rustam that we meet in the first page of the Aḥsan. His power was far from secure, and hardly extended to the outlying provinces, over which, with varying degrees of independence, their own Princes or Governors held sway.

Ismā'il, the first Shāh of the Ṣafawī dynasty, which supplanted the Turkmāns, was of a Sayyid family long settled in Ardabil, tracing its descent from the Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm. The first of the family to settle at Ardabil was one Fīrūzshāh-i-zarrīn Kulāh. From him was descended the well-known saint Ṣafīyyu'd-dīn. The family was regarded by a numerous body of adherents with peculiar veneration; and legend, if not history, tell us that many of the Turkish prisoners taken by Tīmūr were given to Khwāja 'Alī, then the head of the house, and settled near Ardabil as his retainers. Shekh Junayd, fourth in descent from Ṣafīyyu'd-dīn, was honoured by Uzūn Ḥasan with the hand of his sister Khadija. Their son, Ḥaydar, was the originator, they say, of the crimson twelve peaked hat, commemorating the twelve Shī'a Imāms, which was known as the Ṣūfī 'tāj', and which gave to his followers the celebrated name of Qizilbāsh (Red heads). Ḥaydar, too, married a White Sheep princess, 'Alamshāh Begam, daughter of Uzūn Ḥasan and sister of Ya'qūb. He was not only a saint but a warrior, and his religious wars against the Georgians led to his undoing. For these expeditions had to pass through the territories of Farrukh Yasār, King of Shīrwān, and Farrukh Yasār objected. Ya'qūb sent an army under Sulaymān Bizhan to help the Shīrwānis, and Ḥaydar was defeated and killed at Tabarsarān in 893 A.H., when Ismā'il was a baby one year old. Ya'qūb sent the three small sons of Ḥaydar and 'Alamshāh, 'Alī, Ibrāhīm, and Ismā'il, to the castle of Istakhr, near Shīrāz, where they were kept for four and a half years.

Then Rustam Beg set them free, in order to utilize their followers against his cousin Bāysunqur. Bāysunqur was overthrown, but the prestige of the "Shekh's sons" grew so great that Rustam, fearing for his throne, sent Ayba Sulṭān to capture or destroy them. At this point our chronicle begins.

To recapitulate—in 900 A.H. (1494 A.D.) North-Western Persia was under the rule of Rustam Beg, Chief of the White Sheep Turkmāns; Khūzistān was independent; Fārs was governed by the Purnāk Turkmān Manṣūr Beg, in subordination to Rustam; Shīrwān, Gilān, Māzandarān, were under their own Chiefs; Yazd, Kirmān, and neighbouring districts, were more or less independent under Turkmān Governors; Khurāsān was the territory of Sulṭān Husayn.

The Aḥsan gives us a certain amount of Turkish history, and makes occasional incursions into Indian affairs. We need pay little attention to the former—except where Turks and Persians come into collision—and none at all to the latter. There is no value in Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū's Indian history, nor does it in any way affect the main theme of his work. Between the Ottoman Sulṭāns and the Mongol and Turkish Chiefs who ruled over North-West Persia there had been occasional trouble—the last being the wars of Uzūn Ḥasan and the Ottomans. Certain of the Turkish tribes of Asia Minor holding Shī'a doctrines were for long a serious menace to the Ottoman power. These tribes looked upon the Shekhs of Ardabil with veneration, and, when Ismā'il arose, they flocked to his standard. It will be seen how this eventually led to the great struggle between Persians and Shī'a Turks on the one side and Ottoman Sunnīs on the other at Chāldirān.

Lastly, we must mention the Uzbeks of Transoxiana, whose constant attacks on Khurāsān and Eastern Persia occupy so large a space in the Aḥsan. The Uzbeks were not a nation, or tribe, but a political confederacy, which developed formidable power under Abū'l-Khayr of the Plain of Qipchāq, a descendant of Shaybān bin Jūjī bin Chingīz Khān. Abū'l-Khayr died in 874 A.H., leaving eleven sons, one of whom, Shekh Ḥaydar, succeeded for a short time. Another son, Shāh Budāq, had married Qūzī Begam, a princess of Khatāy, and, when he died at the age of twenty-five, their son Muḥammad was brought up by his grandfather Abū'l-Khayr, who

nicknamed him Shāh Bakht, a name corrupted to Shaybak. Muḥammad Shaybak Khān Shaybānī was born in 855 A.H., and was eighteen years old when his grandfather died. The events of the next few years are obscure, but Shaybak Khān was eventually joined by the Uzbek Chiefs, and attacked and captured the forts of Ṣayrān, Sighnāq, and Uṭrār, and advanced upon Bukhārā. There he was received and helped by 'Abdū'l-'Alī Tarkhān, the Governor. At the opening of the Aḥsan we find him attacking Samarqand, then under the nominal rule of Sulṭān 'Alī bin Maḥmūd bin Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd. His capture of that place, his successful wars with Bābur, and the gradual extension of his power over Transoxiana, Balkh, and Khurāsān, until his conquests and his insults brought him into fatal collision with Shāh Ismā'īl, are detailed in the Aḥsan.

## II

Having thus briefly explained the political situation when our history begins, I next consider, equally briefly, the condition of Persian administration as it was during the reigns of the three Shāhs whose history is sketched by the Aḥsan. Unfortunately, this Chronicle and other similar authorities give nothing but incidental information. They are little more than records of perpetual strife. Administrative, social, and economic facts have to be dragged, as it were, out of their unwilling pages.

The Shāh was an autocratic monarch, supported by the Chiefs of the great fighting clans from whose followers his army was drawn. These clans, when united, furnished a formidable fighting force, but quarrels between them were common, and these dissensions were a grave source of weakness to the Shāh. Thus, early in Ṭahmāsp's reign, there was an insurrection of the Ustājlu Chiefs, owing to Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū's high-handed confiscation of their estates. A little later we read of a Takalū rebellion. At the end of Ṭahmāsp's reign strife between the tribes who supported Ismā'īl Mīrzā and those who followed Prince Ḥaydar led to dissensions which the monarch was unable to suppress.

Civil administration according to modern ideas hardly existed. There were no modern conveniences, such as posts or made roads. Letters had to be sent by private messengers. Public buildings, such as rest houses, bridges, and caravanserais, were made by

enlightened Rulers and Ministers; a conspicuous example of the latter was the celebrated Mir 'Alī Nawā'ī of Herāt. Mosques and colleges, town defences and forts, were built and repaired by Kings and Governors.

Of the Ministers of the Crown the most important were the Šadr and Wazīr. The Šadr was always a Sayyid; he was the head of what may be described as the ecclesiastical department, and he appears to have exercised considerable control of an inquisitorial character over public morals and public worship. The Wazīr was the chief executive authority in matters not coming within the sphere of the Šadr. Šadr and Wazīr were officers whose appointment was essential. As soon as Ismā'il became Shāh he made appointments to these offices, and changes are regularly recorded by the Aḥsan, and by the Jahān Ārā and other records.

The central treasury—in Ismā'il's time often depleted, but kept full in Ṭahmāsp's reign by the Shāh's avarice and parsimony—was fed by tribute, or fixed payments, from the provinces, presents from officials and subordinate princes, fines, and the produce of the land-tax, transit duties, and other miscellaneous sources, in the territories directly under the Shāh. Sharaf Khān was entrusted with the inventory of the treasure left by Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and he found 380,000 tūmāns in cash, 6 bricks of gold and silver (each weighing 3,000 miṣqāls), equipment for 30,000 horsemen, 3,000 camels, 200 Arab horses for the Shāh's own use, 30,000 garments, and 200 kharwārs of silk stuffs, etc.

The army was mainly a feudal force. If the Shāh went on an expedition he summoned his Chiefs to come with their men and join him. Or, if he did not go himself, he nominated certain Chiefs, and they took their own forces with them. The Qizilbāsh soldiery was chiefly cavalry; its mobility was great, and it found no difficulty in evading the Turkish armies. In the early battles there is no mention of guns or muskets, though they must have been known and used to some extent. Later on they are often mentioned; they may have come into commoner use after the battle of Chāldirān in 920 A.H. had taught the Persians their value. The qūrchīs, or picked troops of the feudal Chiefs, were supposed to be paid, but payment was very irregular. Failure to pay the Shāmlū troopers in service at Herāt led to the murder of Khwāja



Ḥabibullāh; on the other hand Ṭahmāsp's neglect to pay his own qūrchīs for years together seems to have been accepted without complaint. Khwāndamīr gives us an account of a darbār held by Shāh Ismā'īl at Herāt after his defeat of Shaybak Khān. Presents were given to the Shāh by all his Chiefs, and the Shāh distributed these presents amongst the qūrchīs. Probably such windfalls were common enough.

The provinces were governed either by their own Princes or by officials appointed by the Shāh; such officials were generally important Qizilbāsh Chiefs. The great province of Khurāsān was usually given to a Royal Prince, assisted by a guardian, or adviser, who was a Qizilbāsh noble and the real ruler of the province. Provincial rulers were practically independent, so long as they were loyal, paid their tribute or contribution, provided armed assistance in the Shāh's expeditions, and obeyed specific orders from headquarters. On important occasion such orders were solicited, as, for example, when Humāyūn was expected at Herāt. On that occasion the most detailed instructions were sent by the Shāh as to the character of the reception to be given to the fugitive Emperor. Tribute was sometimes difficult to collect; Shāh Ismā'īl's trouble with Māzandarān was due to the failure of the Māzandarān Chiefs to pay what had been agreed upon.

Provincial rulers had their own Ṣadrs and Wazīrs, and their courts, offices, and armed forces were, no doubt, administered much the same as those of the Shāh. In the disturbed state of the country revenues must have come in with little regularity. The main source was the land-tax and transit duties, and in the towns the artizan tax—partly in cash and partly in kind. Every town had its own Qāzī, Kalāntar, and other hereditary officials, and managed its own affairs, so long as the revenue was paid, superior orders obeyed, and disturbances avoided.

The Ṣafawī dynasty is often described as the first national Persian line since the days of the Sāsānians. The Shekhs of Ardabil were no doubt Persians, but Persians who claimed Arab descent, and who spoke Turkish and surrounded themselves with an army of Turkish tribesmen, many of whom came from lands outside Persia. The language position was peculiar. Turkish tribesmen formed a considerable proportion of the population, and the

language of the Court and army was mainly Turkish. In the towns and country the common people spoke every variety of Turkish and Persian dialect. Classical Persian was used for secular literature, and for diplomatic correspondence—even between Ottoman and Persian Courts, in both of which Turkish was commonly spoken. For religious discussions and controversies Arabic was employed, and in the mosques and madrassas there must have been a mixture of Arabic and Persian—just as in the High Schools of India to-day instruction is given in English helped out by more or less of the local vernacular. In the days of the Şafawīs education meant the pursuit of religious and philosophical controversy of a kind which seems to western minds singularly barren and narrow. Fortunately the professors of this learning occasionally indulged in the frivolity of worldly ethics and other interesting trifles, as when Dawwānī wrote his *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*, or when Ḥusayn the Preacher composed the *Akhlāq-i-Muḥsinī* and translated the Arabic version of the fables of *Bidpāy*. Of the history written a fair sample is that of our author. He must have produced a long record of earlier times, to judge from his own references to his former writings; of these writings no trace, so far as I know, has remained. The poets mentioned in the necrologies of the *Aḥsan*, and in *Tazkiras* or memoirs, are numerous; but few writers of real eminence adorn the annals of the early Şafawīs. Every educated person seems to have thought himself a poet, and to have been capable of turning out verses, which repeated with tedious monotony the stereotyped phrases, forms, and ideas, of what passed for poetry.

Regarding religion in Persia we find in the *Aḥsan* no mention of Christians (except in Georgia), Jews, or Zoroastrians, though there must have been many of these at various centres. It is difficult to estimate the effect upon the masses of the people of the Royal acceptance of Shī'a doctrines. Ismā'il cruelly persecuted Sunnis in Shīrāz and Herāt, and no doubt in other places too. Ṭahmāsp was no less bigoted; the author of the *Lubbu't-tawārikh* was cast into prison and died there because he was a Sunni. Ismā'il II seems to have been inclined towards Sunni views, but this peculiarity was as unpopular as was his murderous behaviour towards his relations. It is perhaps worth noting that Shīism was not by any means a spēciality of men of Persian race. The Qizilbāsh army

was mainly Turkish, and Bārīk Beg fled from Baghdād on Ismā'īl's approach because Shīites were predominant in his territory.

On the national customs of the Persians in the Şafawī days and the social and economic conditions in which they lived there is practically no information in our history, or in other chronicles of the time. We have the observations of such travellers as Herbert and Peter Della Valle, and a little book recently published—Don Juan of Persia, translated by Le Strange—gives us an interesting picture of certain aspects by a contemporary Persian. To that book and to Malcolm's History of Persia reference may be suggested.

The early Şafawīs and their followers were vigorous people, and they deserve the credit they have gained for raising Persia to a position of power and importance. But they were barbarously cruel and bigoted. No mercy tempered Ismā'īl's punishment of a rebel or a coward, or his treatment of the religious leader who failed to conform to Shī'a doctrines, or disobeyed the Royal order to curse the first three Khalifas. Ṭahmāsp was much the same when he was young; in his old age he seems to have weakened, so that he could not bring himself to suppress with the firmness required by the case a mischievous and demoralizing disturbance in Tabriz. In truth severity—even cruelty—was often needed, and we must not judge the Şafawī monarchs and their contemporaries by the standards which modern civilization has set up. We have to picture a state of society far different from our own, in feelings, morals, religious beliefs, social customs, material welfare, scientific knowledge.



## THE FAIREST OF CHRONICLES.

The writer of these scattered notes is the least of historians, Ḥasan, grandson of Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū. And he has written this volume, too, in the name of the valiant Prince, Ismā'il Mirzā. Therein is written the history of mighty Shāh Ismā'il, and of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (may his kingdom endure). In it, too, are the histories of the Turkish Sulṭāns, and of the Chaghatāy and Uzbek Chiefs, and of the famous men of learning and ministers of their times. And by the Khāqān-i-Iskandar Shāh is meant Shāh Ismā'il; by Shāh-i-Dīn Panāh, Shāh Ṭahmāsp; and by Shāh-zāda-i-'Ālamīyān, Ismā'il Mirzā.

*A.H. 900. The martyrdom of Sulṭān 'Alī, by command of Rustam Beg Turkmān, and certain events of the time.*

Now this year Rustam Beg sent the Princes<sup>(1)</sup> to Ardabīl, to guide the people from the way of error. But, when it came to his ears how the people flocked to them, he feared for his throne, and he sent a man to call Ismā'il and his brothers to his camp, and he commanded that no Ṣūfīs should be with them. And that winter he spent at Khūy, and in the spring he went to his summer quarters. And he tried to kill Sulṭān 'Alī. But a faithful servant revealed the matter, and Sulṭān 'Alī with his brothers hastened to Ardabil. And the Ṣūfīs and Ghāzīs of these regions joined them. Now Rustam Beg had news of this, and, in his folly, he sent his uncle's son, Ḥusayn Beg 'Alī Khānī, with Ayba<sup>(2)</sup> Sulṭān and a strong force, to Ardabil against Sulṭān 'Alī. And Sulṭān 'Alī, by prophetic vision, knew that he was to die, and he took his Ṣūfī<sup>(3)</sup> cap from off his head, and set it on Ismā'il's head, and sent him to Ardabil. Then the enemy appeared,<sup>(4)</sup> and Ayba Sulṭān, having placed men in ambush, went to the fight; and when Sulṭān 'Alī saw them he attacked like a lion, so that Ayba Sulṭān and Ḥusayn Beg 'Alī Khānī could not stand against him, but fled. And the Qizilbāsh army collected the spoil. But the men of Ayba Sulṭān that were in ambush attacked them while they were thus engaged, and cut them to pieces. Then three hundred men who were with Sulṭān 'Alī charged. But he fell into a watercourse as he galloped, and his neck was broken. And they cut off his head, and sent it to Rustam Beg.

*Certain matters relating to Shāh Ismā'il, and his going to Lāhiḡān.*

Now after that Ismā'il had been crowned by his brother, they sent him from the summer quarters to Ardabil with his brothers before the battle, that he might live in the Holy Shrine. And after Sulṭān 'Alī's death his mother, 'Alamshāh<sup>(5)</sup> Begam, brought his body to the Holy place, and mourned for him. And she feared, besides, that Ismā'il, too, might be cut off. And Ayba Sulṭān's army stretched forth hands of tyranny and plundering. Then the enemy thought that the Ṣūfis and disciples had taken the Prince from Ardabil; but he was hiding there. At last they found that he was in Ardabil with a certain woman, but they knew not who she was. Now Shāh Pāshā Khātūn, one of the daughters of Sulṭān Shāh Junayd, who was married to Muḡammad Beg, strove to protect Ismā'il. For three days His Majesty was in the house of Qāzī Aḡmad Kākulī. But the house was hard by the shrine, and in a place where men passed to and fro. So they took him to the house of a woman named Khānijān, and he lived in her house for a month. After that, by the counsel of Shāh Pāshā Khātūn, he was taken to the house of a Zu'l-Qadar woman named Āba, a servant of his childhood. Thence he went to the mausoleum of Allāh Virmash Āgha, near the Great Mosque. Now his mother, 'Alamshāh Begam, knew nought of this; and, day by day, she grieved because of separation from her son, till Āba told her. But daily Ayba Sulṭān's men searched more and more. And many orders came from Rustam Beg that the sons and daughters of the master should be taken and slain, and even that the Prince's mother should be tortured. But the sacred precept prevented this. And Āba was afraid, and they determined to take the Prince away. Now a certain man, from among the Ṣūfis and Ghāzis who had fought with Ayba Sulṭān, and had been hurt and fled from the battle, was hiding in the Great Mosque, and he came to Āba to be cured of his wound. And Āba told him of the Prince. So he went to Rustam Beg Qarāmānlū, the uncle of Bayrām Beg, who had fled from the battle and dwelt at Bughrū, and told him. And in the night Rustam Beg came to the great mosque at Ardabil, and took the Prince behind his saddle to Bughrū. And some say that eighty men, who had fled from the battle with Ayba Sulṭān, and had gathered together at Bughrū, were with Rustam Beg, and bore away the Prince from Ardabil to the village of Gurgān, and for three days

he stayed in the house of Khalīf Farrukhzād Gurgānī. After that Maṣṣūr Beg of Qipchāq, and Lala Beg, and Qūrq<sup>(6)</sup> Sīdī 'Alī, and Chalpan Beg, and Khulafā Beg, and Kūk 'Alī, and all the Ṣūfīs who had escaped from the battle, took counsel together, till all agreed to take the Prince to Resht, and stay there for some time. For between Muḥammad Beg, the husband of Shāh Pāsha Khātūn, and Aḥmadī Beg, his brother, and Amīra Ishāq, the Governor of Resht, was a friendship of old. So Rustam Beg and Aḥmadī Beg took Ismā'il and eighty men of the Ṣūfīs, and brought them to the village of Tūl; and they stayed some days in the house of Amīra Muḥaffar, Governor of Tūl and Nāo, who made a feast for the Prince, and served him. Now, when Ayba Sulṭān came to know that Ismā'il was in the house of Amīra Muḥaffar, he sent a man to him, saying, that he should send Shekh Ḥaydar's son to Rustam Beg with all his friends. And he promised and threatened. So also Jāhgīr Beg Purnāk, the Governor of Tūl and Khalkhāl, sent to Amīra Muḥaffar in the same way. But Amīra Muḥaffar said he knew not of all this. But, when they saw that Jāhgīr Beg was also an enemy, they found it better not to stay longer at Tūl, but left to go to Kaskar. And Amīra Muḥaffar called Amīr Nūsh, a servant of Amīra Sīyāwush, the Governor of Kaskar, to the village of Dunyā Chār, which is of the villages of Kaskar, and gave over the Shāh and his companions to him to take them to Amīra Sīyāwush. And Muḥammad Beg and Aḥmadī Beg returned from Tūl, and wrote to Amīra Ishāq,<sup>(7)</sup> the Governor of Resht, that he should protect the Shāh and his Ṣūfīs and companions. Though their return grieved the Shāh sorely, yet were they forced to go. And when Amīra Sīyāwush heard that the Shāh was coming to Kaskar he met him with all honour and service. And they were for three days in his house, and he got them to Resht. There Amīra Ishāq, whose love was more than can be told, made a great banquet. And some say that the Shāh's brothers Sayyid Ḥasan Mirzā, Sayyid Sulaymān Mirzā, Sayyid Dāūd Mirzā, and Sayyid Maḥmūd Mirzā, were his companions in this journey. Others say, they joined him at Resht; and yet others that the Shāh and his brothers went by way of Āq Dāgh to Masūla, and from thence to Resht. But there was no man who went by that road with the Shāh; and it is true that the Shāh stayed at Resht with his brothers. And at Resht is a mosque, known as the White Mosque, which is still there. There they stayed; and

its air and spaciousness, and the fashion of it, pleased the Shāh, so that he did not leave it, or go to Amīra's house. And hard by the mosque was a goldsmith's shop, and the goldsmith, Mīr Najm,<sup>(8)</sup> served the Shāh, and was favoured. And in the matter of the Shāh's stay in Resht there is divergence. Some say that it was not more than seven days; others twenty days; others a month.

Now when Kār Kiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, Governor of Lāhijān, knew that the Shāh had come, and Amīra Ishāq could not protect him and his companions, he prayed that he should come to Lāhijān. And Ismā'il, feeling assured of his loyalty, determined to go there. And at Lāhijān a house was given him, opposite the Madrassa of Kiyā Farīdūn. Now Ayba Sultān, till he heard of all this, was at Ardabīl; and thereafter he returned to Rustam Beg; moreover he caught Musammāt Āba, and brought her to Rustam Beg, who commanded that she should be hanged in the Tabriz square. And Ayba Sultān told of the conduct of Muḥammad Beg and Aḥmadi Beg. So Rustam Beg was angered, and he attached their possessions. But they appealed to Qarā Dada, the old retainer of Rustam Beg, and he interceded for them. And they were fined thirty thousand tangas,<sup>(9)</sup> and were forgiven.

*The stay of the Shāh at Lāhijān.*

Now Kār Kiyā Mīrzā 'Alī served the Shāh faithfully, and found favour in his eyes. And Ṣūfis from all parts, from Turkey and Qarācha Dāgh and the district of Mushkīn, came with presents, and returned to their own lands. And Ismā'il read the Holy Qurān with Mawlāna Shamsu'ddīn of Lāhijān. And, besides Amīr Najm, the goldsmith, Sultān Ḥasan and Amīr Ḥashim, brothers of Kār Kiyā Mīrzā, were his friends and protectors. And Ismā'il fell sick. And Mawlāna Ni'matullāh ministered to him; but his sickness was on him for one year, and then abated. After this he ordered that Shāh Pāshā Khātūn, his uncle's wife, should send him presents, and specially the fine bread that he loved, from Ardabīl.

So Shāh Pāshā Khātūn sent these things to Gilān with her servants, and Mīr Najm the goldsmith, Mīr Ḥasan son of Mīr Mūsā, and Amīr Jahāngīr of Resht, the agents of Amīra Ishāq, accompanied them. And Ismā'il sent Kūk 'Alī to meet them, and all went to Lāhijān. And Ismā'il sent certain of the presents to Kār Kiyā and



his brothers, and shewed all hospitality. And they abode three days in Lāhijān, and were suffered to return. And the chiefs of Lāhijān who had received gifts sent in return all manner of presents, and rich stuffs, and fatted fowls, and fish, and oranges, and all the products of Gilān. And when they reached the village of Kūrim, near Ardabīl, Shāh Pāshā Khātūn, and Muḥammad Beg met them. Then they went to Rustam Beg at Tabrīz, and begged for the return of Muḥammad Beg's property. So, when Qarā Dada interceded, it was restored; and they were given robes of honour. Moreover, it was commanded that they should not be further troubled.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Now Maṣṣūr Beg Purnāk<sup>(10)</sup> was made to retire from the Governorship of Fārs, which was given to Nūr 'Alī Beg.<sup>(11)</sup> But Sīdī 'Alī Beg Purnāk represented that Shīrāz was Maṣṣūr Beg's arsenal. So Fārs was restored to him. But he fell sick, so that he could not work, and Shāh Qulī Beg, his deputy, acted for him. Then Qāsim Beg, the Mīr-i-dīvān, through envy, killed Shāh Qulī Beg, and, not content with this, he prevailed over Maṣṣūr Beg, and ordered all matters. And his agents stretched out the hand of tyranny; above all his Wazīr, Rūḥullāh of Qazwīn.

*Deaths.*

In the month of Rabī-'u'l-awwal died Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mirzā,<sup>(12)</sup> son of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd. He was an evil king. His age was forty-three, and his realm was Samarqand and Bukhārā and Badakhshān. He left five sons—Sulṭān Mas'ūd Mirzā, Sulṭān 'Alī Mirzā, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā, Bāysunqur Mirzā, and Sulṭān Uways Mirzā. This year also Sayyid Raḏīu'd-dīn Murtazā bin Sayyid Sharīf died, aged seventy years.

*A.H. 901. Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā<sup>(1)</sup> goes to Ḥiṣār Shādmān.*

Early in this summer Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā set out to conquer Badakhshān, Qunduz, and Baghlān. And he crossed the Oxus and camped at the village of Bīrjā. When Sulṭān Mas'ūd heard of his coming he entrusted the fort of Ḥiṣār to Amīr Bāqir, Amīr Maḥmūd Barlās, and Dānish 'Alī, the camel driver, and with a few men fled to the city of Sabz. And Sulṭān Ḥusayn surrounded Ḥiṣār, which was

sore pressed. So they sent envoys offering to yield, and promising that, if the Sulṭān would return to Herāt, they would send him the daughter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrā. So, having finished the matter of Ḥiṣār, the Sulṭān turned to Qunduz, and Khusraw Shāh,<sup>(2)</sup> the Governor of that place, sent Nazar Bahādur with presents, and the Sulṭān accepted them, and returned to Herāt. And he bestowed the governorship of Balkh on Badī'u'z-zamān, his eldest son.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Forty days after the New Year day many gathered at the tomb of Ṣa'dī<sup>(3)</sup> at Shīrāz. And Amīr Yūsuf Beg, son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Jawlān, with certain chiefs—among them being Ismā'il Beg, son of Ṣūfī Khalīl,<sup>(4)</sup> and Ṭayyib Āghā, Governor of Iṣfahān—attacked Qāsim Beg Purnāk. But the Shīrazis prevailed, and Ismā'il Beg and Ṭayyib Āghā were slain, and Amīr Yūsuf Beg fled. After this Qāsim Beg visited Rustam Beg. And Rustam and his ministers were fain that he should not return to Shīrāz. Nevertheless many of the chiefs were Purnāks, and they took his part. Moreover, he spent much money. Therefore the governorship of Fārs was again bestowed upon him; but Khwāja Rūḥullāh, his Wazīr, was put to death.

*A.H. 902. Aḥmad Pādshāh<sup>(1)</sup> comes from Turkey,  
and Rustam Beg is killed.*

This year Ḥusayn 'Alī Tarkhānī went to Turkey, and he reported to Sulṭān Bāyazīd that Ādarbāyjān and 'Irāq were empty of troops, and could easily be taken, if Aḥmad Beg, son of Ughūrlū Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan Pādshāh, who was heir to that country, should be sent with an army. So Aḥmad Beg was sent with Ḥusayn 'Alī Tarkhānī and a Turkish army. And when his coming was noised abroad, the Turkmān leaders joined him. And Ḥusayn Beg 'Alīkhānī put to death, near Sulṭāniyya,<sup>(2)</sup> 'Abdu'l-karīm Beg Lala, one of Rustam Beg's nobles. And on the first of Ramaẓān the Khuṭba was read and coins were struck in the name of Aḥmad Beg. Then Rustam Beg, hearing such evil news, set out with a strong army to meet Aḥmad. And their armies met and fought on the banks of the Aras river. But, while the battle was being waged, Ayba Sulṭān joined Aḥmad Beg; and Rustam Beg was taken and killed. Thus Aḥmad Pādshāh was freed from his fellow king; and he set out for Tabrīz, and sat on the throne with all

pomp and splendour. Now Ḥusayn Beg 'Alī Khānī was the chief of the nobles in power and greatness; by reason of the enmity which he bore towards Muẓaffar Purnāk Aḥmad commanded that Ḥusayn should be killed. And in Aḥmad's honour Mawlānā Zīāyī<sup>(3)</sup> of Urdūbād composed a qasīda, for which Aḥmad gave him a purse of gold.

*The war<sup>(4)</sup> between Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Badī'u'z-zamān.*

This year Badī'u'z-zamān rebelled. And his father heard of it at Herāt, and hastened to Balkh against him. And these two met at the valley of Pul-i-chirāgh. But when Badī'u'z-zamān beheld the Royal standard he fled. And his father returned with much booty to Herāt.

*Deaths.*

Shah Gharīb Mīrzā,<sup>(5)</sup> son of Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, died of a sudden illness.

Rustam Pādshāh bin Maqsūd Beg bin Ḥasan Pādshāh was a kindly man. No prince of the lines of the White or Black sheep Turkmāns had been so generous in grants to the deserving. His motto was, "Do Justice". He reigned five and a half years, and he ruled over Persian 'Irāq, Arabian 'Irāq, Ādarbāyjan, Fārs and Diyārbakr.

*A.H. 903. The war of Ayba Sultān and Aḥmad Pādshāh.*

After he had put Ḥusayn Beg 'Alī Khānī to death Aḥmad Pādshāh reigned at Tabriz. And he sent Ayba Sultān to Kirmān as Governor, and sent for Qāsim Beg Purnāk, the Governor of Shīrāz. And Qāsim received his envoy, but feared and thought to escape. Then he heard that Ayba Sultān, being on his way to Kirmān, had reached the Tomb<sup>(1)</sup> of Solomon's mother. So he met him and brought him to Shīrāz. And he seized Aḥmad Pādshāh's envoy, and had the Khuṭba recited in Ayba Sultān's name; and his name was Ibrāhīm. And they covenanted to call Sultān Murād bin Ya'qūb Pādshāh from Shīrwān,<sup>(2)</sup> and set him on the throne, and that they two should be his Wakīls. And they took much money from the people, and especially from Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad Dawwānī and Ṣadru'd-dīn Muḥammad. Thereafter these two set out for Iṣfahān. Then Aḥmad advanced against them, and on Thursday the seventeenth day of the month of Rabī' he met them at Khwāja Ḥasan-i-māzī.<sup>(3)</sup> And certain of Ayba Sultān's men joined

Aḥmad, and Ayba took down his standard and would fain have fled. But, when Aḥmad's men busied themselves with plunder, Ayba attacked and slew Aḥmad, and set his head upon a spear. And Aḥmad's army fled. Thus Ayba prevailed. And he set out for his winter quarters at Qum, and had the Khuṭbā recited in the name of Sulṭān Murād, for whom he sent to Shīrwān. And he established his court at Qum, and set up a throne, and placed a turban below the throne. And daily he would go there and attend to affairs, and make a Royal banquet. And in the spring he set out for Tabrīz. But before he arrived certain men had brought Sulṭān Murād from Shīrwān. And they withstood Ayba Sulṭān. But he did battle with them and prevailed. And he shut up Sulṭān Murād in the fort of Rū'indiz<sup>(4)</sup> and made his mother his own wife. And he brought Alwand Beg bin Yūsuf Beg bin Ḥasan Pādshāh to Tabrīz and set him on the throne.

*The second quarrel of Sulṭān Ḥusayn and Badī'u'z-zamān.*

This year Sulṭān Ḥusayn was at Ulang-i-Nishin,<sup>(5)</sup> making inquiry into the misdeeds of his ministers. And, when Badī'u'z-zamān at Qandahār heard of the dispersal of his army, he hastened with Shujā 'Beg bin Amīr Zu'n-nūn Arghūn and an army from Qandahār, and in six days he arrived near Sabzawār. Then Farīdūn Ḥusayn Mīrzā was besieged in Sabzawār. So he sent to the Court a courier, who arrived on the tenth of Shawwāl. And the Sulṭān sent to Herāt, and commanded Amīr 'Alī Shīr to send to the camp such men as he could get from the districts. And that same day Amīr Muḥammad Walī Beg, 'Umar Beg, and Amīr Bābā 'Alī came from Astārābād. But before they came the Royal scouts reported that Badī'u'z-zamān had raised the siege of Sabzawār, and was hastening against them. Had Badī'u'z-zamān come that night he might even have prevailed. But he slept, and in the morning came to the field of battle. And Sulṭān Ḥusayn drew up his army. And Sulṭān Mas'ūd Mīrzā came with five hundred men; for he had left Shādmān and come to the Royal camp for help, by reason of the revolt of Amīr Khusraw Shāh. And Farīdūn Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and Amīr 'Abdu'l-laṭīf and other Chiefs, came from Sabzawār. So Badī'u'z-zamān found the Royal camp full of horse and foot. Then the battle was fought, and the men of the land of Dāwar and Qandahār were overthrown. And Badī'u'z-zamān fled to the mountains of Ghūr.

And they pursued after him, and Amīr 'Umar Beg overtook him. But Amīr Yūsuf Isfandiyār took a spear from the hand of Badī'u'z-zamān, and smote Amīr 'Umar Beg, and broke his teeth and cast him from his horse. And Gadā 'Alī, the chief of the stables, overtook Shujā 'Beg. But Shujā 'Beg smote him with his sword, so that he turned back. And Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā returned victorious to Herāt.

### *Deaths.*

Aḥmad Beg bin Ughurlū Muḥammad bin Ḥasan Pādshāh was a cherisher of the people, and in his time the gates of taxation were barred. And he strictly forbade the drinking of wine, even among the chiefs. He was a great patron of the learned, being himself a learned man; and in his assemblies men spoke of learned matters. He was wont to write letters in place of orders to Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn Dawwānī and Mir Ṣadru'd-dīn Muḥammad, and he would seal the letters himself. And he would fain have stopped the oppression of his subjects and of the weak by the Turks. Wherefore the Turks were against him in their hearts, but openly they obeyed his commands. And he knew this, and was wont to kill one of them every few days. But he was niggardly, and he grudged the grants of earlier kings. And he reigned for six months. His face was very red and white, and he was short, with short legs, and arms; wherefore he was known as Pumpkin Aḥmad and a poet wrote of him as a Turkish cabbage that ruled the world and was dug into the ground when the autumn came. His motto was "Let the poor smile".

Amīr Ṣadru'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Amīr Ghiyāṣ-u'd-dīn Manṣūr<sup>(6)</sup> died on Friday the twelfth of Ramaẓān aged seventy-five. In his youth he read with Mawlānā Qiwāmu'd-dīn Gulbārī. And he built a mosque at Shīrāz, and taught there. Among his writings are:—New notes on the Tajrīd, Iṣbāt-i-Wājib, Notes on the Maṭālī', Notes on the Shamsiyya, and a tract styled Taḥqīq-i-'ulūm.

Manṣūr Beg Purnāk, Governor of Shīrāz, also died this year. Fāzil Nuqṭachī Ūghalī came from Turkey; Aḥmad Pādshāh was a patron of his, and with Aḥmad he was killed.

Amīr Khwānd, the writer of the Rauẓatu's-ṣafā, died on the second of Zī'l-Qa'da, aged sixty-six.

Muḥammad Mūmin Mirzā bin Badī'u'z-zamān was put to death by the order of his grandsire.

*A.H. 904. The war between Muḥammadi Mirzā and Alwand Beg.*

Muḥammadi Mirzā bin Yūsuf Mirzā bin Ḥasan Pādshāh was with Aḥmad Beg in the battle with Ayba Sulṭān, and, when Aḥmad was slain, he fled to Yazd. And Murād Beg Bāyandur, Governor of Yazd, with the help of Ashraf Beg, proclaimed him King, and set out for Shirāz. And they were met by Qāsim Beg Purnāk, hard by Nāyin, and a hard fight was fought, wherein Qāsim Beg was overthrown. But he fled to Šāyin Fort, and sent to Ayba Sulṭān for help. And Muḥammadi Mirzā came to Shirāz, and gave the Governorship to Maṣṣūr Beg Afshār. Thereafter he set out for 'Irāq, and took Iṣfahān, and marched to Ray, and stayed there for the winter. But Ayba Sulṭān, Alwand Sulṭān, and Qāsim Beg, came to 'Irāq, and Muḥammadi Mirzā fled to Mir Ḥusayn Kiyā Chulāwī. And Ayba Sulṭān and Alwand wintered at Qum, and sent Qāsim Beg to Shirāz. And Guzil Aḥmad, brother of Ayba Sulṭān, they sent to winter at Warāmīn with most of the chiefs and a strong army. Then Muḥammadi Mirzā and Mir Ḥusayn Kiyā Chulāwī attacked Guzil Aḥmad and captured his gear, and he fled back to Ayba Sulṭān. And in the middle of the winter Alwand went to Ādarbāyjān, and Muḥammadi gathered men in 'Azīz Kandī.<sup>(1)</sup> And Alwand was overthrown and fled with a few men to Diyārbakr; but Ayba was killed. And Wālī Qāsim, the Governor of Diyārbakr, met Alwand, and set him on the throne. And Muḥammadi conquered Ādarbāyjān, and set up his standard at Tabriz. Then Alwand, leaving Wālī Qāsim, set out for Tabriz, and Muḥammadi, when he heard of his brother's coming, fled to Sulṭāniyya. So Alwand took Tabriz, and made Latīf Beg his Wakīl.

And this year Maṣṣūr Beg Afshār advanced towards Shirāz, and Qāsim Beg Purnāk hastened against him. And a battle was fought at Shūlistān,<sup>(2)</sup> and the Afshārs prevailed and captured Qāsim Beg. But he escaped near Istakhr, and threw himself into the Fort.

*Battle between Sulṭān Ḥusayn and his sons at Ḥalwā Chashma.<sup>(3)</sup>*

Sulṭān Ḥusayn raised his standard at Marv against Abū'l-Muḥsin Mirzā and Kupuk Mirzā, his sons. And Abū'l-Muḥsin was besieged in Marv; and after four months, he saw no help but to yield, and he sent to his father and asked for pardon. So the Sulṭān had mercy on

him, and departed for Murghāb. Then his sons again rebelled and met together at Abīward.<sup>(4)</sup> And the Sultān heard of this at Bābā Khākī, and he moved against them, though he was sick and in a palanquin. And when they heard of this they moved to Nisā. Then the Sultān sent Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Ḥaydar Muḥammad Mīrzā, Ibn Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and Mīr Muḥammad Burandūq Barlās,<sup>(5)</sup> to pursue them. And they found them at Ḥalwā Chashma. And Muẓaffar Ḥusayn was in the centre, and Muḥammad Mīrzā on the right, and Ibn Ḥusayn on the left. And on the other side Abū'l-Muḥsin Mīrzā was in the centre, and Kupuk Mīrzā on the right. And the Sultān's right and left were overthrown, and the Sultān left his palanquin and mounted a horse. And when the princes saw the standard of Sultān Ḥusayn their hearts failed them, and they fled.

#### *Deaths.*

Amīr Ḥusayn the Riddler<sup>(6)</sup> died from diarrhoea, and was buried under the dome of the Ikh'lāsiyya Madrassa. His works include a tract on the art of making riddles.

#### *A.H. 905. The war between Sultān Murād and Muḥammadi Mīrzā.*

Now Guzil Aḥmad and Farrukh Shāh Beg Bāyandur went to Tabriz, and brought Sultān Murād, and set out for Shirāz. And Qāsim Beg left the fort of Istākhr and joined them. Then Muḥammadi Mīrzā, having heard of this, marched against them, and Sultān Murād left Shirāz for Iṣfahān; and the armies met at Kār Ulang.<sup>(1)</sup> And Pīr Beg attacked Qāsim Beg, and he fled, and stayed not till he reached Shirāz. And in the battle the collar of Sultān Murād fell on the ground, and Pahlawān Shāhī picked it up, and with it rallied the men of Sultān Murād who had fled. And they saw Muḥammadi Mīrzā alone standing below his standard; and Sultān Murād charged, and the men of Muḥammadi Mīrzā were overcome, and he was killed, and Pīr Beg Afshār and Ashraf Beg also tasted death, and their chiefs were scattered. And of them Pīr 'Alī strengthened Sāwa; Pīr Muḥammad took up his quarters at Qum, and Qīyā Beg at Kāshān. Then Sultān Murād, with fifty thousand men, appeared before Sāwa, and besieged Pīr 'Alī for fifty days. And Pīr 'Alī sent to ask for peace, and peace was made. And Abdāl Beg, his son, came out of the fort,

and became a servant of Sulṭān Murād. Then Sulṭān Murād departed for Ādarbāyjān, and he was met by Alwand near Abhar. And a darwish, whose name was Bābā Khayrullāh, met these princes, and inclined their hearts to peace. The river of Qizil Uzūn<sup>(2)</sup> was made the boundary. Ādarbāyjān, Arrān, and Diyārbakr, were given to Alwand; 'Irāq, Fārs, and Kirmān, to Sulṭān Murād. After this Alwand went to Tabriz, and Sulṭān Murād passed the winter at Qazwīn. There Pīr 'Alī Beg and Pīr Muḥammad Beg came to him, and were received; and also Maṣṣūr Beg Afshār and his sons. And Sulṭān Murād sent for Pahlawān Shāhī, who had picked up the collar in the battle with Muḥammadī Mīrzā, and made him Dārogha of Milāzjird, which is a village of Naṭanz. For he asked for this, saying that his father had been a farmer there.

*Shāh Ismā'il leaves Lāhijān. He goes to Gūkcha Dengīz,  
and meets Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bārānī.*

Now Ismā'il desired to go to Ardabīl, that with the help of his forefathers he might win the Kingdom from the heretics. And Kār Kiyā sought to dissuade him, for he was young and his men were few and his enemies many. But Ismā'il went to Kār Kiyā, and was urgent in his presence. Then he set out for Arjuwān,<sup>(3)</sup> and Kār Kiyā went with him for two leagues and returned. And Ismā'il camped at Daylamān, and then at Ṭārum. There he beheld his army, and fifteen hundred Ṣūfīs from Turkey and Syria were gathered with him. And fearing Mīr Ḥusāmu'd-dīn he left Ṭārum for Khalkhāl, and camped at Burīda, and next day he came to the fields of the Shāmlūs and Guzār-i-Khalkhāl. At this place were melons such as he loved; therefore he stayed there some days. And Shekh Qāsim made a feast for him, and roasted forty sheep, and prepared other food. And, marching from thence, he reached the village of Kūrī-i-Khalkhāl, and stayed in the house of Malik Muḥaffar, the Standard bearer of Sulṭān 'Alī Pādshāh, who was known as Khulafā Beg. There he stayed a month, and from thence he went to the village of Sasābād of Ardabīl, and thence to the village of Alāwarq, and to Ardabīl, where he did homage at the shrine of the great saints. But the Governor of Ardabīl and Mughānāt on behalf of Alwand Beg, Sulṭān 'Alī Beg Chākārlū, forbade him to stay at Ardabīl, or said he should be ready to fight. So the next day he left Ardabīl, and went



to Marbī, and sent to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭālīsh, and asked him to appoint a place for him. And Mīrzā Muḥammad said that all things were ready. So Ismā'īl wintered at Arjuwān, and Mīrzā Muḥammad strove to do all service—more than pen can write. And Ismā'īl spent his time fishing. Then Sulṭān 'Alī Beg Chākarlū sent a man to the mother of Mīrzā Muḥammad, and promised reward if Ismā'īl could be drowned in the river wherein he was wont to fish. And Ḥamza Ṭālīsh, the Manager of Mīrzā Muḥammad, and Sulṭān 'Alī Beg Chākarlū, assented thereto, and waited for an occasion. And in the beginning Mīrzā Muḥammad knew nought of this, but he divined it from his mother's doings. And he rebuked his mother, and punished Ḥamza Ṭālīsh, and strove to hide the matter. But Amīra Āghā of Gīlān came to know of it, and he spoke to Lala Beg and Khādim Beg, and they told Shāh Ismā'īl. Then Mīrzā Muḥammad hastened to the Shāh, and swore that he had known nought of this plot. And his oath was accepted. And others<sup>(4)</sup> say that Muḥammad Beg, the brother of Ahmadi Beg, was at that time in the service of Mīrzā Muḥammad; and Alwand Beg sent a man to Mīrzā Muḥammad and Muḥammad Beg and promised them Ardabīl and Khalkhāl, if they would take Ismā'īl and send him to him. And Mīrzā Muḥammad was in doubt, but Muḥammad Beg said that a Ṭālīsh man could not do this for any earthly rule. So Mīrzā Muḥammad kept himself from this wickedness, and Muḥammad Beg told the Shāh privily.

And after this Farrukh Yasār, the King of Shīrwān, sent to Mīrzā Muḥammad, and bade him to send Ismā'īl and his brothers to him. But Ismā'īl heard of it, and took the way of caution. And hearing that Mīrzā Muḥammad was coming to Court, the chiefs, Ḥusayn Beg Lala and Abdāl Beg Dada and Bayrām Beg Qarāmānlū, thought it better that men should meet him with arms under their clothes and mix with his men, and slay him if he were an enemy. And certain of the Rūmlū and Shāmlū Ṣūfis armed themselves, and were ready. Then Mīrzā Muḥammad came, and Ismā'īl sent Khādim Beg Lala and Abdāl Beg Dada to meet him and discover what was in his heart. And, when Mīrzā Muḥammad saw them afar off, again he protested his loyalty. So they brought him to Ismā'īl. And he brought and read the Shīrwān letter, and swore on the Holy Qurān that he was loyal. And he asked that Ismā'īl should not believe vain tales about him. And Ismā'īl gave to him, and to each of his men, dresses of

honour, and gladdened their hearts with Royal favours. And that day he stayed in the Royal camp, and departed next day to Bisha Kinār. Şūfis, also, who had been kept back, were suffered to go.

This year, after the New Year day, a great cold set in, destroying the spring flowers and freezing the birds, so that men caught them and brought them to the Shāh. And Ismā'il had a snow fort built with three gates. And he remained under the fort, and appointed men to be within it, and men to attack it on two sides, and was himself on the third side. And he took it. After this he went towards Gūkcha Dengiz,<sup>(5)</sup> and stayed at Langar Kunān for a day in the village of Shāhsuwār Beg. And from thence he marched to the village of Māṭiyān, and stayed in the house of Noshīr Beg Tālīsh, Governor of Mughānāt. Thence he hasted to Gānja. And on the way he heard that one of the family of Mirzā Jahānshāh, named Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bārānī,<sup>(6)</sup> was at Gūkcha Dengiz with men, and had plundered that country. So he took counsel with his nobles. And in the meantime, a messenger came bearing a letter, wherein the Bārānī desired to put on the livery of submission and obedience and service if Ismā'il would come to him. But Ismā'il knew that this was but flattery and falseness. And His Majesty stayed some days at Gūkcha Dengiz, and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bārānī came to him with treacherous purpose, asking him to visit him. And, while they were on the way to the Bārānī's camp, a thousand men joined Ismā'il. And he kept his men apart from the Bārānī's camp, but stayed in that neighbourhood three days. And the Bārānī sent present to Ismā'il and his nobles, but Ismā'il thought it well to depart from that place. And when the Bārānī heard of this, he sent for the chiefs, and asked them if the Shāh would stay. They answered that they knew that he would not consent. So he sought to take Ismā'il and his nobles. And he asked if the Shāh would come to his house. But the nobles, knowing his falseness, excused Ismā'il, saying he was sick. And, leaving Ḥusayn Beg Lala with Ismā'il, the others went to the Bārānī to the feast, saying that Ismā'il was sick and could not come. And the Bārānī believed them, and made a great feast. Then Ismā'il thought good to depart, and he marched away towards Chukhūr Sa'd<sup>(7)</sup> at night, leaving lights and camp fires burning, so that men afar off would think that food was being cooked. And the next morning the Bārānī found that the Shāh had gone; and he was angered and followed after him. But the Shāh

feared not his hosts, but stood firm. And he feared to come up with him, and returned back. So Ismā'il reached Chukhūr Sa'd. And from thence he marched to Dū Qūzālam.<sup>(8)</sup>

*The coming of Qarācha Iliās and the Turkish Ṣūfīs.*

Then men began to incline towards Ismā'il, and to flock to his camp. And among them came Qarācha Iliās and an army of Ṣūfīs from Turkey to Shūra Gil,<sup>(9)</sup> and from thence to the Royal camp. And a certain Mantash<sup>(10)</sup> had there a fort, and he met them, and made a feast, and brought certain of the Turkish Ṣūfīs to his house, and appointed his own men to plunder them. But they escaped, and came to Court and reported this matter. Then Ismā'il's anger was kindled, and he set out against Mantash and his fort. And Mantash left it to his men, and fled. And Ismā'il came; but, when his men were busy with plunder, they were attacked. Yet the attack was driven back, and much plunder was taken. Then Ismā'il went to Tarjān<sup>(11)</sup> by way of Qāqazmān to the summer quarters of Sārūqiyya. And there he heard of a bear, living in a cave and troubling men. And his men surrounded that beast, and it came out of the cave. And Ismā'il, being then but thirteen years of age, slew that fierce beast with a single arrow. And he stayed there for two months, and departed for Arzinjān.

*Events in Khurāsān.*

While Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā was at Astārābād, Badi'ū'z-zamān hastened to the province of Herāt from Sīstān, and Amīr Zū'n-nūn from the Land of Dāwar<sup>(12)</sup>; and they plundered the herds and flocks of the nobles. Thereat Amīr 'Alī Shīr and Muḥammad Walī Beg, and the other Chiefs, were sore distressed. And when Badi'ū'z-zamān reached Awba<sup>(13)</sup> Amīr Zū'n-nūn went ahead. And when the men of the districts saw him alone they thought that Badi'ū'z-zamān had gone back. And Muḥammad Ma'sūm Mirzā came from Chichiktū<sup>(14)</sup> to Herāt. When Muḥammad Walī Beg heard of this, he went out with two or three thousand men, and he kept in reserve Muḥammad Ma'sūm Mirzā. He took the right wing himself, and entrusted the left to Sayyid 'Abdullāh Mirzā<sup>(15)</sup> and Amīr Bābā 'Alī. At Lak Khāna<sup>(16)</sup> Badi'ū'z-zamān joined Amīr Zū'n-nūn, and the scouts reported that the rebels were in sight. So the two armies met near Ulang-i-Nishīn; and Badi'ū'z-zamān joined in the battle; whereat

‘Abdullāh and Amīr Bābā ‘Alī fled, and, after them, Muḥammad Ma’sūm Mirzā and Amīr Muḥammad Walī Beg. And Muḥammad Ma’sūm Mirzā, and Sayyid ‘Abdullāh reached the Royal camp, but Amīr Muḥammad Walī Beg went to the city and shut the gates. Then Badī‘u’z-zamān surrounded the city, hoping to take it without fighting. Forty days later news came that the Sultān was returning. Then Amīr ‘Alī Shīr sent to Badī‘u’z-zamān, and made him fear to strive with his father. So he hastened to Murghāb by the bridge<sup>(17)</sup> of Mālān. And four days later Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā reached Herāt.

*Events in Turkey.*

Now this year Sultān Bāyazīd marched against the country of the infidels with an army more in number than the sands of the desert, having gathered together weapons of war and guns and many ships, in which were guns and cannon. And there were two ships, which the Frankish sailors and the men of Rumelia call ‘kūkas’,<sup>(18)</sup> such that none but Kings can make, for each one costs twenty-four thousand ashrafīs. Now the ships and their names are these—kūka, māwna, bārja, qadraqa, qaliān, darja. And the qadraqa has no sails, but is driven by oars; it is of all ships the swiftest. That which is called a kūka is like a bow within an arrow; but the bow ever moves, and the arrow is fixed. The māwna is like a castle; large and broad. That known as a qaliān is like a māwna; but smaller. And a darja is the smallest of all; but it is swift to move.

On the eighth of Shawwāl Sultān Bāyazīd set out. Dāūd Pāshā, Governor of Gallipoli, with his army and sailors, and the admirals Raīs Kamāl and Raīs Burāq, were in the two kūkas; and there were three hundred other ships. And the Turkish warriors, with many guns, set out for the straits of Gallipoli, to go to the island of Morea, and thence to Lepanto.<sup>(19)</sup> But Sultān Bāyazīd went by land to surround the fort. And when they reached Morea, the Ruler of Venice, the Lord of Lepanto, prepared a large army, with ships, to meet them. And a contrary wind arose, so that the Turks took their ships into a strong place and waited for about twenty days, and sent news of this to the Sultān. So Aḥmad Pāshā Kharsak Ūghālī was sent against the infidels, the wind becoming favourable. And the Frankish army, with a hundred and fifty ships, came against them. In each ship were seven cannon and twenty mortars, and every gun

fired a shot from five to twenty maunds in weight. And against them came Raīs Kamāl and Raīs Burāq. And in the battle they cast grappling irons on Raīs Burāq's ship and threw white naphtha, and the Turks could not free their ship. So two ships of the infidels and one Turkish kūka were burnt. Kamāl Beg, Qarā Ḥasan, and Raīs Burāq were slain, and seven hundred more that fell into the sea. One māwna and one bārja of the Franks were broken, and fifteen hundred men were drowned; also a Frankish qaliān was damaged, and three hundred men were killed. Then the Franks fled, and the Turks made for Lepanto. And again, after three months, the infidels came against the Turks, and again they fled. Then the Turks surrounded the fort by land and sea, and the Franks yielded it up. And Sulṭān Bāyazīd, having entrusted it to faithful men, returned to Adrianople. And he commanded Sinān and Muṣṭafā Pāshās to make two forts opposite the fortress. And they did so.

#### *Events in Khurāsān.*

This year Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā made for Isfarāin,<sup>(29)</sup> and put Amīr Badru'-d-dīn<sup>(21)</sup> to death. And when Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā heard of this, he got ready for war, and set out for Sabzawār, and sent Amīr Muḥammad Qāsim bin Amīr Muḥammad Burandūq Barlās with a scouting force. And there was a hard fight between Amīr Muḥammad Qāsim, and the vanguard of the Astarābād Army under Muḥammad Kūkaltāsh. Muḥammad Qāsim was wounded by an arrow, and overthrown. And, when those who fled reached Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā, he also fled in the direction of Zāwa.<sup>(22)</sup> Then Kupuk Mīrzā, hearing of these things, abandoned Mashhad and fled. And Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, seeing that Khurāsān was without a master, took it, from Astarābād to Nayshāpūr.

#### *Miscellaneous events.*

Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā gave Balkh and its dependencies to Badī-'u'z-zamān, and added his name to his own in the Khuṭba.

#### *Deaths.*

Mawlānā Ḥasan Shāh in his youth served Mīrzā Sulṭān Muḥammad.<sup>(23)</sup> One day they chanced to speak of the faults of kings, and Sulṭān Muḥammad asked what his own fault was. The Mawlānā answered that it was but sloth, in that he did not command ten

thousand dinārs to be given to him, though he could do this. And Sultān Muḥammad laughed, and bestowed upon him five million dinārs. But the Mawlānā said that to leave the path of moderation after this manner was also sloth. The Mawlānā lived to be a hundred. For years he taught in the Gohar Shād Begam<sup>(24)</sup> Madrassa and the Ikhlesiyya Madrassa. But, after Qāzī Niẓāmu'd-dīn died, he left the Gohar Shāh Begam Madrassa, and taught in the 'Abbāsiyya Madrassa. The Mawlānā's works include "Notes on Hikmatu'l-'ayn".

*A.H. 906. The war between Ismā'il and the King of Shīrwān.*

Now while Ismā'il was at Arzinjān seven thousand followers and Ṣūfis of the tribes of Ustājilū,<sup>(1)</sup> Shāmlū, Rūmlū, Takalū, Zu'l-Qadar, Afshār, Qājār, and Warsāq, and Ṣūfis of Qarācha Dāgh, with Muḥammad Beg and two hundred of his family and retainers, and 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū with three hundred men, arrived at Court. Then Ismā'il, having sent for certain of his nobles, commanded that they should debate as to where they should go. And some said that that winter they should fight with Qurqura<sup>(2)</sup>; others that they should winter at Chukhūr Sa'd. But the Shāh did not approve, but said they should seek omens from the Holy Book, and should see what the Imāms commanded, and should so act. And next day he called his men together, and said that in the night the Imāms had bade him go to Shīrwān. So they set out. And from Pāsīn he sent Khulafā Beg towards Georgia; and Khulafā Beg took his warriors and went to Georgia, and returned with much booty. And the Shāh sent Iliās Beg Ayqūt Ūghalī against the fort of Mantash. And Mantash fled, leaving the fort with his officers. And the Royal army surrounded the fort, and the men of Mantash came to the camp of Iliās with swords in their hands, and bearing shrouds. So Iliās Beg sent the chief men to Ismā'il, who pardoned them, and restored the fort to them. And Mantash gave himself up to Ismā'il at Khatābād, and the Shāh, in his mercy and favour, gave him a dress of honour. Then Bayrām Khān Qarāmānī was sent ahead with Zu'l-Qadar men to the river Kūr to cross it by the fort of Quyūn Ulūmī.<sup>(3)</sup> But he found the ford unfit for an army to cross, and was dismayed. But Ismā'il, when he came, entered the water with his horse, and the army followed him. Then the men of Shakī<sup>(4)</sup> opposed him. But the Ghāzis slew those men. A horseman came, and from him Ismā'il heard that

Farrukh Yasār had said in his Court that Ismā'il would get that which his father had got. So, therefore, knowing that this matter must be settled by the sword, he set out for Kilīd-i-Gilān.<sup>(5)</sup> And the men of that place reported that Farrukh Yasār was near the fort of Qabalāh.<sup>(6)</sup> After this the Shāh turned towards Shamākhī. And he heard that the King of Shīrwān was camped in a forest near Bīqrid,<sup>(7)</sup> and had surrounded his camp with a stockade. Then Ismā'il arrived at Shamākhī, and set out for Jabānī. And the King of Shīrwān also came with his army to Jabānī. So, when Ismā'il knew that he was at hand, he made ready his army, numbering seven thousand men. And Farrukh Yasār had twenty thousand horse, and six thousand foot. In the battle victory was to the Shāh, and he captured all the Shīrwān baggage and animals. •And Farrukh Yasār fled towards the fort of Bīqrid. And certain men pursued him, not knowing that he was the king. And near the fort they unhorsed him, and cut off his head, and took the gear of his horse. And Shīrwānīs who had been taken knew his horse. So they joined his head again to his body, and burnt him. Also minarets of the heads of the slain were set up. And Ismā'il stayed for three days, and then turned to Shamākhī, whereof the Sayyids and Qāzīs and chiefs and nobles came out to meet him. And he heard that Shekhshāh, the son of Farrukh, had gathered together the remnants of his father's army at Shahr-i-naw.<sup>(8)</sup> So His Majesty sent Khulafā Beg against him, and himself also marched. And Shekhshāh fled in a boat to Gilān; and Ismā'il went to Maḥmūdābād<sup>(9)</sup> for the winter. There he heard that the men of the fort of Bākū would pay no dues or taxes, for the fort was of exceeding strength. So, by the Royal Command Muḥammad Beg Ustājilū and Iliās Beg Ayqūt Ūghali Khunuslū<sup>(10)</sup> were sent to take the place. And they went and surrounded it, and for some days they fought, and the Shāh joined his chiefs, and sent a man to the wife of Qāzī Beg,<sup>(11)</sup> the Governor of the fort, that she should turn him to the way of truth. But they slew that man. After that Abū'l-Fattāḥ Beg, the Dārogha of Bākū, went to the woman and threatened her with the Shāh's wrath. But him, too, she put to death. Then the Ghāzīs drove mines, and they came to a great stone, and, when they blew it up, they brought down a tower of the fort. And the men of the fort filled the breach with tent numdahs, and held the fort for three days. Then the Ghāzīs made an assault, and took the fort, and slew many.

And about seventy of the nobles of Bākū, taking the Holy Qurān in their hands, asked for quarter. So the Shāh pardoned them, and they paid a thousand tūmāns to the treasury as blood-money. And the Ghāzīs brought out Mirzā Khalilullāh, and burnt his body, and they found much gold in his dome.

And when the Shāh had taken Bākū, he turned to the fort of Gulistān.<sup>(12)</sup> For he had heard that the remnant of the Shīrwān army was there, and was minded to strive against him. And the men of the fort, saying that the forts of Bīqrid and Surkhāb<sup>(13)</sup> were in the hands of the sons of Qāzī Beg, offered to give up their fort, if Qāzī Beg would give up his. But at that time the Shāh saw in a dream that the Holy Imāms commanded that he should leave Gulistān, and go to Ādarbāyjān. So in the morning he sent for his ministers—Husayn Beg Lala, Abdāl Beg Dada, Muḥammad Beg Ustājlu, ‘Abdi Beg Shāmlū, and Khādīm Beg—and asked them if they wished for Gulistān or Ādarbāyjān. And they said, Ādarbāyjān. And he told them of the dream that he had dreamed. And they departed from Gulistān, and went towards Ādarbāyjān.

*Events in Transoxiana, and the capture of Samarqand  
by Shaybak Khān.<sup>(14)</sup>*

This year Shaybak Khān Shaybānī attacked Samarqand. And Sulṭān ‘Alī, being unable to meet him in the open, shut himself up within the city, and was besieged. For two days the Uzbeks stayed outside the city, and leaving men in ambush, came to the Shekhzāda gate. Then the men of Samarqand came out; and the Uzbeks feigned flight, and drew them to the open plain. And Shaybak Khān came out from the ambush with his warriors, and a great battle was joined, and the men of Samarqand were overthrown. And Shaybak Khān came to the gate of the Four Ways, and there, too, was a mighty battle; and Shaybak Khān, having overcome the men of Samarqand, went to his own camp. And at this time Muḥammad<sup>(15)</sup> Bāqir Tarkhān was advancing to help Sulṭān ‘Alī Mīrzā with ten thousand men; but he was met and overcome by Shaybak Khān near the fort of Dabūsī. So he withdrew to Dabūsī. Then Shaybak Khān<sup>(16)</sup> set out for Bukhārā. And Mawlānā Muḥammad ‘Alī sent Qāzī Khwārazmī to the Khān with many gifts. Shaybak Khān gave the Governorship of Bukhārā to Amīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, and turned again



to Samarqand. But he received news from Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ that Amīr Muḥammad Bāqir had left fort Dabūsi and gone to Qarshī. So Shaybak Khān returned to Bukhārā; and, when he came near, Muḥammad Bāqir went back to Qarshī. And Shaybak commanded his Uzbeks to plunder Bukhārā. Then the Khān gave Bukhārā to his brother Maḥmūd Sulṭān, and marched to Samarqand, and camped hard by the city. And the city was at that time in the power of Khwāja Yahyā,<sup>(17)</sup> son of Khwāja 'Abdullāh. Daily Sulṭān 'Alī Mirzā bin Sulṭān Maḥmūd bin Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd attended him, and he thought that to disobey his behests was a thing impossible. When Shaybak Khān had been busy with the siege for some days, he came to know that Sulṭān 'Alī Mirzā was in sore straits by reason of the Khwāja. So he sent the Sulṭān a letter, asking him to join him. Furthermore he wrote to his mother, asking her to marry him. And the prince, with his simple mother's approval, met the Khān, and was killed. The Khwāja also went to the Khān's camp; him, also, the Khān killed, with most of his brethren. And Samarqand, together with Turkistān and Bukhārā, fell into the hands of Shaybak Khān, who dwelt at Kān-i-gil,<sup>(18)</sup> and stretched forth the hand of tyranny against the people.

And Khwāja Abū'l-Makārim,<sup>(19)</sup> of the family of Abu'l-Jalīl Murghilānī, the Ṣāhib-i-hidāyat, sent a messenger to Bābur Pādshāh, who reigned at Andijān in the place of his father 'Umar Shekh Mirzā, bidding him to come quickly, and he would let him into Samarqand. So Bābur<sup>(20)</sup> set out with two hundred and forty followers, and, travelling with all speed by night and resting by day, he reached Samarqand on the appointed day, and was let into the city. And at the instigation of the citizens he killed about five hundred of Shaybak Khān's men. That night Jān Wafā Mirzā, who dwelt in the house of Khwāja Quṭbu'd-dīn, and 'Abdu'r-rahīm Turkistānī, were near the fort of Didār<sup>(21)</sup> with eight thousand men. And Ḥamza Sulṭān<sup>(22)</sup> and Bāqī Sulṭān with a troop of warriors, were at the hunting ground<sup>(23)</sup> which is hard by the city. And when the Khān heard of these things, he came with a large force outside the Iron Gate; but, when he saw that he could do nothing, he departed for Turkistān. And Bābur hastened after him with a thousand horse, and he dug a ditch at Jūjiya Kārawān.<sup>(24)</sup> And Shaybak Khān, attacked him by night, but was overthrown. So Bābur left his moat and hastened to Shaybak's

camp. And Shaybak with eight thousand horse drew up against him. And the left army of Shaybak was overthrown. And the chiefs of the Uzbeks said to Shaybak Khan. 'Lo, our armies are overthrown, and we must flee.' But Shaybak Khān heartened his men, and again attacked. And Bābur, being unable to withstand them, set his face towards Samarqand, and there he got ready for a siege. And after some days there was famine. And Bābur left Samarqand, and fled to Andijān. And Shaybak Khān entered the city, and put to death the chief men. And Khwāja Abu'l-Makārim shaved his beard, and set out to go to Turkistān. But a party of Uzbeks knew him, and carried him before the Khān, who asked him why he had shaved his beard, and sent him to the other world. So Shaybak Khān made the city his capital, and appointed to the Governorship of Turkistān his two uncles,<sup>(25)</sup> Kūchū Yahyā Khān and Sūnjuk Sulṭān, whose mother was the daughter of Mīrzā Ulūgh Beg bin Mīrzā Shāhrukh, and to Bukhārā his brother, Maḥmūd Sulṭān. After this he sent his Uzbeks to harry Ḥiṣār Shādmān, Badakhshān, Khatlān, Qunduz, and Baghlān.

*Events in the land of Turkey.*

Now in the beginning of this year Sulṭān Bāyazīd set out for the cities of Korone and Methone, which are of the isles of Greece. In a month's time he reached Morea, and from thence he sent an army and ships under Ya'qūb Pāshā and Iskandar Pāshā. Then the Ruler of Venice, and the other Kings of the Franks, sent three hundred ships against the Turks. And the Turks met them with their ships, and overcome them, and took four māwnas, and in each were a thousand men. And the infidels fled, the wind being contrary. And the Turks surrounded the fort of Methone by land and sea, and pierced the towers of the fort by mortar fire. Then these men cried for help to the King of the Franks and the Ruler of Venice. And the Venetian sent four ships bearing soldiers, who passed by three hundred Turkish ships and brought themselves under the fort walls. Then straightway they set fire to their ships. And the Turks were confounded, and the citizens ran towards them and set about moving guns and muskets from the ships. And, trusting in the height of their walls, the men of the fort left its towers without defenders. Then Sinān Pāshā, Amīru'l-Umarā of Anatolia, sent men to the breach in the walls and attacked. And the infidels, in the midst of their rejoicing, saw the Turkish

army on the walls. And they ran towards them, and plied sword and spear. But the Sultān sent company after company to strengthen his men. And the battle lasted all day. Then the Christians took refuge in caves and cellars and strong houses, and fought till the next morning, when the city was ablaze because of the naphtha and nitre which the defenders had thrown. So many of those wicked men were burnt. And much booty was taken; money, and young women, and boys. Then the Sultān returned to Adrianople.

*Events in Khurāsān.*

Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā set out for Astarābād; for he had heard of the many victories of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā. And on the way thither Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Amīr Muḥammad Burandūq Barlās came to him, and were received. But Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā fled, when he heard of the Sultān's coming. And when the Sultān reached Astarābād Kupuk Mīrzā repaired to his father, and Amīr Muḥammad Burandūq was sent to meet him. And they met, and went together to the Sultān. At this time Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā hastened against them, and reached the camp when most of Kupuk Mīrzā's men were dispersed, looking for fodder. And Kupuk and Amīr Muḥammad fled, and Muḥammad Ḥusayn took all their baggage and turned back towards the river Atrak. And Kupuk Mīrzā met the Sultān at Sar-i-pul-i-sangīn.<sup>(26)</sup> Then Muḥammad Ḥusayn sent envoys with tribute to the Sultān, who made him King over Astarābād and returned to Herāt.

*Events in Yazd.*

Now a certain person, whose name was Raīs Muḥammad Karra—being of Karra, a village of Luristān—became a servant of Shekh 'Alī Beg,<sup>(27)</sup> Governor of Yazd. And one day when Shekh 'Alī had gone out a hunting from Abarqūh,<sup>(28)</sup> Karra, forgetting his duty and having attached to himself certain men, attacked his master's retainers, and drove them out, and seized the city. And, since Shekh 'Alī could not withstand him, he sent a man to him, and set out himself for Yazd. Then Karra sent for help from Luristān, and three thousand men joined him at Abarqūh. And, strengthened by them, he also took Bāwwanāt.<sup>(29)</sup>

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year Amīr Shams-u'd-dīn Zakariyya, who was for years Wazīr of the White Sheep Turkmāns, visited Ismā'il, and was made Wazīr. And the Ṣadārat was bestowed on Mawlānā Shamsu'd-dīn of Gīlān, and the Governorship of Abīward, Nisā, and Bāzar,<sup>(30)</sup> on Kupuk Mīrzā. Abū'l-Muḥsin Mīrzā, hearing that Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā had given Mashhad to Kupuk Mīrzā, hastened to the Sulṭān's Court, and was received with favour.

*Deaths.*

Farrukh Yasār<sup>(31)</sup> bin Amīr Khalilullāh bin Sulṭān Ibrāhīm bin Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Kayqubād bin Farrukhzād bin Minuchihr (known as Khāqān, after whom the poet Khāqānī was named) was of the lineage of Nawshīrwān. In the time of Farrukh Yasār Sulṭān Abū Sa'id had his winter quarters at Qarābāgh. And Ḥasan Pādshāh overcame Abū Sa'id, because Farrukh Yasār went against him. This year he was killed at Jabānī by the Ghāzīs, as has been written. He reigned for thirty-seven years, and his place was taken by his son Bahrām Beg, who died soon, and was followed by his brother Qāzī Beg, after whom the Qāzī Begi<sup>(32)</sup> money is named. By chance "Shīrwānshāh" gives his accession and his title (873 A.H.).

'Alī Shīr<sup>(33)</sup> bin Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Gajkina. He was descended from forefathers, who were nobles of 'Umar Shekh bin Amir Timūr. 'Alī Shīr spent his childhood in the service of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and he and the Sulṭān were together servants of Mīrzā Abū'l Qāsim Bāburī. After the Mīrzā's death Ḥusayn left Marv for Herāt, but 'Alī Shīr stayed at Marv, and read. And in the time of Abū Sa'id he left for Herāt. At Herāt he served Sulṭān Ḥusayn for a time. But, being not favoured, he went to Transoxiana, and lived in the retreat of Faẓlullāh Abū Layṣī. And he passed his time mostly in reading; oftentimes meeting in converse Amīr Darwīsh Muḥammad Tarkhān<sup>(34)</sup> and Amīr Aḥmad Ḥājī, the Rulers of Transoxiana. In these days when Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā prevailed, Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā left Khurāsān for Samarqand, and 'Alī Shīr was with him. Then he obtained leave from Amīr Ḥājī, and went to Herāt, and, meeting Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā about the time of the 'Id, recited the Qasīda-i-hilāliya. And step by step he raised himself, till the Sulṭān used to write to him and gave him many titles. And it is related that

Khawāja Mujiddu'd-dīn<sup>(35)</sup> made a feast for the Sultān, and received the Chahārquṭ, which vestment was in those days given to no Persian : but for his services it was given to him. And he bent the knee nine times, as was the Chaghatāy way. And at the same meeting 'Alī Shīr sent the Khwāja his own 'farjī', which was worth eleven tankas and two mīris. And the Khwāja put it on over the Sultān's Chahārquṭ, though it reached not to his knees. And he bent the knee nine times also for the Mīr. This year, when the Sultān was returning from Astarābād, 'Alī Shīr went out to meet him. And when he came near to the Royal litter, Khwāja Shihābu'd-dīn<sup>(36)</sup> advanced towards him. And Amīr 'Alī Shīr embraced him. And, before they had ended speaking, 'Alī Shīr's state changed, and he said, 'Khwāja, be not unmindful of my condition.' And the Sultān's litter drew near. Then 'Alī Shīr dismounted to meet him. But his legs gave way, and, with one hand on the shoulder of Khwāja 'Abdullāh<sup>(37)</sup> and the other on that of Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn Qāsim Khwāndamīr, he approached the litter, and kissed hands. Then he sat down from excess of weakness, and he could not answer the Sultān's greeting. So the Sultān commanded that they should take him in the Royal litter to the city. And the signs of apoplexy appeared. Then the surgeons bled him : but he had no blood. And at midnight on Friday they took him home. And in the morning all the physicians gathered, and again they tried to bleed him. On the Saturday he passed to the life eternal. And among his works are :—Turkish Dīwān, Turkish Khamsa, Majālisu'u-nafāis, Turfatu'l-mulūk, Persian Dīwān, Maḥbubu'l-qulūb, History of Muḥammad Abū Sa'īd, Khayru'l-abrār, Farhād and Shīrīn, Sadd-i-Sikandar, Layla and Majnūn, Turkish compositions, Simples in Riddles, Turkish poetry, History of Sayyid Ḥasan Ardashīr, Kham-satu'l-mutaḥayyirīn, Breezes of Love. He built three hundred and seventy charitable buildings, and among them were ninety inns. But he was a man of sharp repartee.

*A.H. 907.*

Now, when Ismā'īl was near the fort of Gulistān, there came a man from Shekh Muḥammad Khalifa, who had been sent to enquire at Qarābāgh as to the Amīrzāda Alwand. And he reported that Alwand had left Tabrīz, and had come to Nakhchiwān<sup>(1)</sup> with a large army, and had sent Muḥammad Qarchaghāy towards Gānja, to cross the river

at Quyūn Ulūmī for Shīrwān. So Ismā'il gave up the siege of Gulistān, and turned towards Ādarbāyjān, sending Jōshan Mirzā ahead to repair the bridges. And His Majesty crossed by a bridge. Then, having heard that Ḥasan Beg Shakar Ūghalī had reached Qarācha Dāgh and was oppressing the people, he sent Pīrī Beg<sup>(2)</sup> in front. And Shakar Ūghalī fled, and joined Alwand at Nakhchiwān. So Pīrī Beg took much booty, and joined the Royal camp again at Arbāb-i-arḡhalī, and it was found that Muḥammad Qarchaghāy was in those regions. But he was driven back, and joined Alwand at Nakhchiwān. Then Ismā'il advanced upon that town by way of Sulṭānpur and Qarā Āghāch. At that time there came Uṣmān Mawṣilū and an army of White Sheep Turkmāns. But they were overcome after much fighting by the Ghāzīs under Pīrī Qājār and Ḥalwācha Ūghalī, head of the huntsmen, and they fled. But Uṣmān and his friends were brought before Ismā'il, and were put to death.

Then Alwand, hearing of this defeat, advanced with a numberless army towards Chukhūr Sa'd, and drew up his army, being thirty thousand horse, at the village of Shurūr. Now Ismā'il had but seven thousand horse, and the greater part were without armour. The leaders of his army were Ḥusayn Beg Lala, Abdāl Beg Dada, Bayrām Beg Qarāmānlū, Khulafā, Muḥammad Beg Ustājlū, 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū, Qarācha Iliās of Bāyburt, Pīrī Beg Qājār, and Ṣārū'Alī, Keeper of the Seal. And Alwand placed his camels in the rear, chained together, so that those who would flee should find no way. And they fought, and Alwand's mighty host was overthrown. Laṭīf Beg, Sayyid Qāzī Beg, and Muḥammad Qarchaghāy, were slain; but Alwand fled towards Arzinjān. And many were killed, because, when they came to the camels, they could not escape, and arrows were rained upon them and upon the camels. And others reached a river and were drowned. A vast booty was taken by Ismā'il. Then the Shāh marched to Tabrīz, and was received by the Sayyids and the chief men. And His Majesty<sup>(3)</sup> took his place in the Royal capital. Moreover, in the beginning of his reign, he commanded that the names of the twelve Imāms should be read in the Khuṭba. And this had not been done in the cities of Islām for five hundred and twenty-eight years, since the coming of Sulṭān Tuḡhrul<sup>(4)</sup> Beg bin Mikāil bin Saljūq and the flight of Basāsīrī. And it was commanded that Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uṣmān, should be cursed in the bāzārs, on pain of death to him who

refused. In those days men knew not of the Ja'farī faith and of the rules of the twelve Imāms. For of books on this matter there were none. Yet Qāzī Naṣrullāh Zaytūnī had the first volume of the Qawā'id-i-Islām of Shēkh Jamālu'd-dīn Muṭahhar<sup>(5)</sup> of Ḥilla, and therefrom he gave religious teaching, till, day by day, the sun of the Shīa' faith rose higher and lightened the dark places of the earth.

#### *Miscellaneous events.*

And this year Sulṭān Murād advanced on Shirāz, and Qāsim Beg Purnāk came out to meet him. On the seventeenth of Ṣafar Qāsim was captured, and his camp was plundered. And Amīr Muḥammad Sābiqī was sent to Shirāz to attach the possessions of Qāsim Beg. And Sulṭān Murād wintered at Kāzarūn. In the month of Ramazān he turned towards 'Irāq, leaving the Governorship of Fārs to Ya'qūt Jān Beg Bāyandur, brother of Ayba Sulṭān. And they took Qāsim Beg to Istakhr, and from thence to Iṣfahān, where Yār 'Alī Beg, son of Nūr 'Alī Beg Purnāk, put him to death.

In this year the Kings who claimed to be independent were: Ismā'il, in Ādarbāyjān; Sulṭān Murād, in the greater part of 'Irāq; Murād Beg Bāyandur, in Yazd; Raīs Muḥammad Karra, in Abarqūh; Ḥusayn Kiyā-i-Chulāwī, in Samnān, Khwār and Firūzkūh; Bārik Beg Purnāk bin 'Alī Beg, in Arabian 'Irāq; Qāsim Beg bin Jahāngīr Beg bin 'Alī Beg, in Diyārbakr; Qāzī Muḥammad, along with Mawlānā Mas'ūd Bidgalī, in Kāshān; Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā, in Khurāsān; Amīr Zu'n-nūn, in Qandahār; Badī'u'z-zamān, in Balkh; and Abū'l-Faṭḥ Beg Bāyandur, in Kirmān.

#### *Deaths.*

Mirzā Ulūgh Beg<sup>(6)</sup> bin Sulṭān Abū Sa'id died, and his son, Mirzā 'Abdu'r-razzāq, sat in his place.

Mawlānā Sharafu'd-dīn 'Alī Shiftagī also died. He had learned with Mawlānā Muḥiyu'd-dīn and Mawlānā Qiwwāmu'd-dīn Gulbārī. Among his writings are:—Tafsīr-i-āyāt-i-aḥkām, Sharḥ-i-muḥarrir, Sharḥ-i-irshād.

Muḥammad Ma'sūm Mirzā, son of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā, died at Qāin of diarrhoea.

A.H. 908.

This year Alwand gathered a fresh army. So, on the twenty-fourth of Shawwāl, Ismā'il set forth against him, and, having passed through Alādāgh, hunting on the way, he reached, on the twenty-first of Zī'l-Hijja, Chaman-i-lakzī near Tarjān. And the enemy was filled with fear, and fled. And Ismā'il advanced from Chaman-i-lakzī to Qūch-i-aḥmar, near Mount Darūna. And certain of the enemy were taken and killed. And the plain was filled with tents, as with flowers in spring. And in the evening they heard that Alwand and a remnant of his army were making ready for siege near Sārū Qubba of Arzinjān. So His Majesty, taking most of the Zu'l Qadar Chiefs and Ghāzis, and marching with all speed, so that they travelled twenty leagues in a day, reached the enemy. And in fear they fled, and he plundered their camp. Then he heard that Alwand was at Tabrīz, having gone towards Ādarbāyjān. So he marched from Bākū to Tabrīz. And Alwand fled to Baghdād, like an arrow shot from a bow. And his Majesty came to Awjān.<sup>(1)</sup> The Ghāzis took the baggage of the enemy, which they had abandoned in their haste. And they wintered at Tabrīz.

*The war between Ismā'il and Sultān Murād.*

Now Sultān Murād bin Ya'qūb Pādshāh was sore afraid. For he heard that Ādarbāyjān was in Ismā'il's hands. And he sent men round about to gather an army, and the remnants of the White Sheep Turkmāns; and he called five thousand foot from 'Irāq. In the beginning of the winter he set out with Walī Khān for Hamadān with seventy thousand horse, and sent Gohar Sultān, his mother, to Islamsh Beg at Qum, to call him with an army. And Islamsh, hearing the words of Gohar Sultān, set out for Sultān Murād's camp. And since many reports of Sultān Murād's power reached Ādarbāyjān. Ismā'il sent an envoy, by name Qambar, who had been a slave of Sultān Ḥaydar and was fluent of speech, to Murād, to call on him to yield. But Qambar heard from the Governor of 'Irāq but vague replies, and saw the signs of rebellion. So he returned, and told of what he had seen and heard. Therefore His Majesty set forth for 'Irāq, and passed the Qizil Uzūn, and came to Alma Qulāqī near Hamadān. And Sultān Murād heard of the coming of Ismā'il, and got ready for battle, having an innumerable host. In the morning



Ismā'il drew up his army, being twelve thousand horsemen. And he made Khulafā Beg and Manṣūr Beg of Qipchāq the advance guard, and kept Pirī Beg Qājār with fifteen hundred horse in reserve; and the rest of his chiefs, being Abdāl Beg Dada, Ḥusayn Beg Lala, Muḥammad Beg Ustājlū, Bayrām Beg Qarāmānlū, 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū, Yakān Beg Takalū, and Sārū 'Alī, the Keeper of the Seal, were on the right and left wings; and he took the centre himself. And Sulṭān Murād also was in the centre. And, fearing the might of Ismā'il, he placed his guns in front, and strengthened them with boards and chains. And he put 'Alī Beg Turkmān on the right, and Murād Beg on the left. And Islamsh Beg was the advance guard.

So the battle was fought on Sunday the twenty-fourth of Zī'l-Ḥijja. Then Islamsh Beg, by many attacks, broke the advance guard of Ismā'il's army, and reached the centre. But he was thrust back by Pirī Beg, and was unhorsed. And Ismā'il attacked. And in the end the Turkmān warriors were overcome, and Murād came to know that victory lies in the hands of God. And he fled, and the Shāh's army pursued after him, and slew ten thousand men. And Islamsh Beg and 'Alī Beg were killed; but Murād fled, with a few whose time had not yet come, towards Shīrāz. So Ismā'il returned thanks to God for this great victory, and rewarded those who had borne the palm of bravery. And he commanded his writers that they should send throughout the land the news of his victory. Then he camped in the meadows of Hamadān.

#### *Events in Fārs.*

On Sunday the third of Ṣafar Abū'l-Faṭḥ Beg, the brother of Ḥājī Beg Bāyandur, came to Shīrāz with many men from Kirmān, and Amīr Yāqūb Jān fled to Bayzā. And Abū'l-Faṭḥ, coming to the city, took his possessions, and passed on to Kāzarūn and then to Fīrūzābād, reaching that place on the eighth of Sha'bān. And Manṣūr Beg Afshār in fear went with his family to Abū'l-Faṭḥ's Court. Abū'l-Faṭḥ was minded to seize him, but a certain man told Manṣūr Beg of this. Nevertheless Manṣūr Beg recited the words of the Faith, and went to the Court. At that time a deer was seen on a hill, and Abū'l-Faṭḥ, from the excess of his boldness, went after it. And he fell, and died; and his son Shekh Ḥasan Beg sat in his place. Then 'Alī Beg, brother of Ashraf Beg Bāyandur, marched on Shīrāz, and, on

the eleventh of Sha'bān reached the Sa'ādat plain. And his tax gatherers tortured the people, and took much from them. Against him Ughūz Muḥammad marched to Shīrāz. And Shekh 'Alī, fearing greatly, fled to Abarqūh, where Raīs Muḥammad Karra put him to death.

*Events in Khurāsān.*

This year, by the command of Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and at the call of Amīr Khusraw, King of Badakhshān, Badī'u'z-zamān marched from Balkh against Tirmid<sup>(2)</sup> with twelve thousand horse. And he sent Amīr Beg Wafādār to Herāt to ask help from his father. So Amīr Bāqī,<sup>(3)</sup> the Governor of Tirmid, hastened to the Court, and was received. Then Badī'u'z-zamān sent messengers to Amīr Khusraw Shāh, and called him. But he hearkened not, and Badī'u'z-zamān returned to Balkh with Amīr Zu'n-nūn.

*Ayqūt Ūghalī's war with Nāṣir and Maṣṣūr Turkmāns.<sup>(4)</sup>*

Now Iliās Beg Ayqūt Ūghalī was in Ādarbāyjān by Ismā'il's command. And Nāṣir and Maṣṣūr Turkmāns, chiefs of the place, came against him with four thousand horse. And they fought; but the Qizilbāshes overcame the Turkmāns, and slew about a thousand. But Nāṣir and Maṣṣūr escaped. And the Ghāzīs took much booty. And Iliās Beg dwelt there, and sent the heads of those slain to the Shāh.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Muḥammad Muqīm, son of Amīr Zu'n-nūn, marched against Kābul. And Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-razzāq fled, and Muqīm took Kābul, and married the daughter of Mīrzā Ulūgh Beg bin Sultān Abū Sa'id. 'Abdu'l-bāqī Mīrzā, and Murād Beg Bāyandur, the Governor of Yazd, fled before the army of Ismā'il to Herāt. And Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā received them, and honoured 'Abdu'l-bāqī Mīrzā.

Sayyid Ja'far Khwāja—a Sayyid of the Plain of Qipchāq—was a favourite of the Uzbek Khāns. And he left Transoxiana, and met Badī'u'z-zamān at Balkh. But he tried to attach the prince's courtiers to himself, and he thought of treachery. So Badī'u'z-zamān put him to death, together with those that joined him.

*Deaths.*

Ḥaydar Muhammad Mīrzā bin Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā.

Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad Dawwānī,<sup>(5)</sup> son of Sa'du'd-dīn As'ad, a man well-known for his high birth and his learning. He worked as the Qāzī of the village of Dawwān under Kāzarūn. He studied with his father, and at the Madrassa of Mawlānā Muḥyī'd-dīn Gūsha Kinārī at Shīrāz, and Mawlānā Ḥasan Shāh, the greengrocer; and he read with Mawlānā Himāmu'd-dīn Gulbārī certain of the common sciences, and, when learning the traditions, he was a pupil of Shekh Ṣafiyyu'd-dīn Ālchī. In the days of his youth he was the Minister of Amīrzāda Yūsuf bin Jahānshāh Pādshāh; and, after that, he taught in the Begam Madrassa, which they call the Dāru'l-ītām. And in the time of the White Sheep Kings, he was Qāzī of Fārs. Aḥmad Pādshāh in his time honoured Jalāl, and Sulṭān Muḥammad of Turkey sent him gifts. But Qāsim Beg Purnāk, being an enemy of Aḥmad, took away much of his possessions. But he himself escaped to Lār and Jirūn. When Abu'l-Faṭḥ Bāyandur seized Shīrāz, he went to Kāzarūn, and joined Abu'l-Faṭḥ's camp at Qawl-i-ābgīna. But in a few days time he died of diarrhoea, and was buried at Dawwān, near Shekh 'Alī Dawwānī. He was seventy-eight years of age. Among his works are—Old Notes on the Tajrīd (which Mawlānā 'Alī Qūshjī saw and praised), New Notes, Newer Notes, Sharḥ-i-hayākil on ḥikmat-i-ishrāq, Notes on the Matālī on Logic, Iṣbāt-i-wājib-i-qadīm wa jadīd, Akhlāq-i-Jalālī (written to compete with the Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī), Notes on the Shamsiyya, Notes on the Anwār-i-Shāf'iyya, Risāla-i-Zawrā (written in one day, standing in the Rawḍa of 'Alī bin Abī Ṭalīb), also Notes on the Zawrā, Notes on Ishārāt, Notes on the Tahzīb on Logic, Sawādu'l-'ayn bar ḥikmatu'l-'ayn.

*A.H. 909.*

Ya'qūb Jān Beg Turkmān left Iṣfahān with a large army for Shīrāz, and he was met by Shekh Ḥasan Beg Bāyandur, who had conquered Shīrāz after Ughūz Muḥammad and Abū'l-Faṭḥ Beg. And a great battle was fought near Jūyum.<sup>(1)</sup> The victory was to Ya'qūb, and Shekh Ḥasan was killed. Then Ya'qūb, having recovered Fārs, went to the Plain of Arzan,<sup>(2)</sup> and was joined by Sulṭān Murād fleeing from Ismā'īl. And hearing of Ismā'īl's coming, they fled. And at the city their chiefs quarrelled, and Ya'qūb

and Sultān Murād went to Sayyid Muḥammad Fattāḥ. Then Ya-qūb went to Dizful and Shahriyān, hoping to meet the Purnāk chiefs and go by Mawṣil to Diyārbakr. But he was killed by Bishārat Beg, brother of Qāsim Beg Purnāk, in revenge for Qāsim's death. And Sultān Murād went to Baghdād, and was set on the throne by Bārik Beg Purnāk, the Governor of that place.

*Ismā'il advances on Shīrāz.*

Now, while Ismā'il was resting at Hamadān, he heard that Sultān Murād was in Shīrāz, and was gathering together the Turkmāns. So he moved upon Fārs, and sent Iliās Beg to put down the rebellion of Ḥusayn Kiyā-i-Chulāwī. And when Sultān Murād heard of his coming, he fled to Baghdād, as has been written. So Ismā'il took Shīrāz, and none withstood him. And, when he had finished disposing of<sup>(a)</sup> its affairs, he turned to 'Irāq, and stayed at Qum.

*Ismā'il marches against Fīrūzkūh.*

Now Iliās Beg<sup>(4)</sup> marched to Rustamdār, and Amīr Ḥusayn Kiyā-i-Chulāwī met him, and forced him into the fort of Warāmīn.<sup>(5)</sup> And the men of Rustamdār surrounded the fort; but, being unable to take it by war, they essayed deceit, and sent messengers to Iliās, offering peace. So, when a pact was made, Iliās came out of the fort with many men, and joined the enemy. But Ḥusayn Kiyā broke his promise, and killed him and all his followers. When Ismā'il heard of this in the early spring he sent an army for Gul-i-khandān and Fīrūzkūh by way of Warāmīn and Ray. And on Sunday the ninth day of Ramazān he left Qum, and spent the New Year's day near Ray, saying that the fort of Khandān would be taken on the Ramazān 'Īd. At this time Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā,<sup>(6)</sup> son of Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, came from Astarābād to meet Ismā'il. And when he reached Samnān he took the fort of that city with a single assault. And Amīr Afrāsiyāb Chulāwī, the Commandant on behalf of Ḥusayn Kiyā, took refuge in the citadel, and sent for help. So Ḥusayn Kiyā, with Murād Beg Jahānshāhlū,<sup>(7)</sup> hastened to Samnān. And of a sudden he attacked the Chaghatāy army, and scattered it, and returned with booty to his own country. On Saturday the twenty-ninth Ismā'il pitched his camp near the fort of Gul-i-khandān. And there was a battle for two days between him and the men of the fort. By the

Shāh's command mines were laid on four sides, and the battlements of the fort were broken down. So the men of the fort cried for quarter. And the Ghāzīs took them and brought them to Ismā'īl, and they were put to death. And on the 'Īd, the fort was taken, even as His Majesty had said. Then the army marched against Fīrūzkūh, and reached it on Thursday the eleventh day of Shawwāl. And the commandant was 'Alī Kiyā Zamāndār. And his heart was hardened, and he trusted in the strength of the fort. Then Ismā'īl surrounded the fort, even as a halo surrounds the moon, and attacked it. And on most days the fight was from morn till eve, and the Shāh himself made mighty efforts, shooting a thousand arrows at the foe. Next day some of the battlements were made level with the ground, and Maḥmūd Beg Qājār mounted the ramparts alone, and scattered the men of Rustamdār. And 'Alī Kiyā Zamāndār yielded to Najm Beg, and was taken to Ismā'īl, and forgiven.

*Capture of the fort of Ustā, and death of Ḥusayn Kiyā.*

On the twenty-fourth of the month of Shawwāl the Royal army under the Shāh marched for Ustā. And a camp was pitched near the fort. And it was commanded that the men should come by a narrow pass, which was hard by the fort, and conquer it. So they crossed one by one. And the men of Rustamdār joined battle. And 'Abdī Beg, the Standard bearer, and the Shāmlu men that he had, and Bayrām Beg, the Amīr-i-dīwān, and other warriors, fought as brave men fight; but 'Abdī Beg was hit by an arrow, and in the narrow place men could not use their swords. So they came by another way that the men of the fort knew not. And there were but two hundred men, while the men of the fort were more than three thousand. And when they saw the fewness of the army, they thought to come forth and fight. But His Majesty attacked. So when they saw the prowess of these few men, they fled to the fort. And those who were striving against the chiefs in the defile saw it, and they scattered as the stars of the Plough. And the chiefs joined the camp on the banks of the Ḥabla river. And every day they fought from morn till eve. Then Ismā'īl commanded that the waters of the river Ḥabla, from which the besieged drank, should be turned aside. And Ḥusayn Beg Lala did this. And on the twenty-seventh of the month Zi'l-Qa'da the fort was taken. And all the men of Ustā and the citadel, being about

ten thousand souls, and among them Murād Beg Jahānshāhlū and Sātalmish and the kinsmen and retainers of Ḥusayn Kiyā, were slain. But Ḥusayn was put in an iron cage. And, when his guards were unheeding, he wounded himself, but did not die. On the third of Zī'l-Hijja the army marched for Ray and Sāwukh Bulāgh.<sup>(8)</sup> At Aywān-i-rāsu'l-wādī, which is known as Kabūd Gumbad,<sup>(9)</sup> Ḥusayn died of his wound, at the place where he had put Iliās to death. At Sāwukh Bulāgh Amīr Suhrāb Chulāwi, Governor of the fort of Ardasand,<sup>(10)</sup> was received by Ismā'il. Then the Shāh went to his summer quarters at Kharqān.<sup>(11)</sup> And there the men and the commandant of the fort of Ustanādiq came to Court. Then Ismā'il made for the summer quarters of Sūrluq.<sup>(12)</sup> And on the way he heard of the rebellion of Muḥammad Karra.

*The siege of Balkh<sup>(13)</sup> and its neighbourhood by Shaybak Khān.*

Now, at the call of Amīr Muḥammad Bāqir Tarkhān, Shaybak Khān crossed by the ford of Kūkī<sup>(14)</sup> for Balkh. And when Badī'u'z-zamān heard of his coming, he left his son Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā in the city with men, and set out for Sān and Chāryak.<sup>(15)</sup> And Shaybak Khān sent men to attack Shiburghān. Then Amīr 'Alī Tarkhān and Amīr 'Umar Beg marched out of the fort to meet them; but they were taken. And Shaybak Khān and ten thousand men placed themselves outside the Shuturkhwār gate, and Maḥmūd, the Khān's brother, was at the 'Irāq gate. Then the Uzbeks surrounded the fort, and turned aside the waters of its moat. And, day by day, they came to the gate and attacked, but they were driven back with wounds. One day, when Shaybak Khān and his warriors attacked, about five hundred were killed. And yet again he attacked twice. So for three months were they outside the city; but, finding that the taking of the fort was a thing hard to do, early in the winter they returned to Samarqand.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Kār Kiyā Sulṭān Ḥasan, brother of Kār Kiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, Ruler of Gīlān, came to Court with much tribute, and was received honourably. And this year Ismā'il appointed Maḥmūd Khān Daylamī of Qazwīn joint Wazīr with Amīr Zakariyya Kūjchī. And also he appointed Qāzī Muḥammad Kāshī Wazīr.

*Deaths.*

Qāzī Mir Ḥusayn of Yazd was put to death by Ismā'il. Among his works are:—Notes on the Shamsiyya on Logic, Commentary on the ḥikmat-ul-'ayn, Commentary on the Ḥidāyat on Philosophy, Notes on the Tawālī on Scholastic Philosophy, Commentary on the Kāfiyya, A tract on the strange art of Riddle making.

*A.H. 910. Ismā'il marches on Yazd; the killing of Karra.*

At this time Murād Beg Bāyandur left Yazd through fear of Ismā'il, and went to Herāt. And in his absence Khwāja Sulṭān Aḥmad Sārūyī, Wazīr of Yazd, held the city. Since Ismā'il, after he overthrew Murād, had entrusted Yazd to Ḥusayn Beg Lala, and the Lala had appointed Shu'ayb Āghā<sup>(1)</sup> Dārogha on his behalf, it was ordered that Shāh Tāqī'ud-dīn should go to Yazd, and should turn out the rebel Sārūyī. And by his efforts peace was made; and Sulṭān Aḥmad promised to serve the Shāh, as long as he lived, and to obey Shu'ayb Āghā. So Shu'ayb came to Yazd, and ruled for a time. But Sulṭān Aḥmad broke his promise, and slew Shu'ayb in the baths, and his comrades; and he became independent. Then Muḥammad Karra hastened from Abarqūh, and entered the city at night, and killed Sulṭān Aḥmad. And he strengthened the city, and raised the flag of independence; till at last, by the temptation of Satan, he forgot his duty and dared to rebel. And when Ismā'il heard of this, he left Sūrluq in the month of Rajab for Yazd, when the heat was very great. And he surrounded the city. Then for two months they fought from dawn till nightfall. Many of Karra's men were killed, and Karra fled within the fort. But after a month they took the fort. Karra had taken refuge in the Naqqāra Khāna. But they piled firewood against it, and set it on fire. And Karra went to the window, because of the excess of the heat, and the Ghāzīs set up a ladder, and brought him down with two others. And the Shāh commanded that he should be put in an iron cage like Ḥusayn Kīyā. And they rubbed his body with honey. Thus he was kept for some days, till Ismā'il returned from attacking Ṭabas. Then he was put to death in the square at Iṣfahān,<sup>(2)</sup> together with certain of his retainers, whom 'Abdi Beg brought from Abarqūh.

*Ismā'il's attack on Ṭabas.*

Now, while Ismā'il was besieging Yazd Amīr Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥusayn<sup>(3)</sup> Ṣadr came from Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and was received. But the letter that he brought was not submissive, as it should be, and Kamālu'd-dīn was not approved. And His Majesty was minded to attack Khurāsān; and in the beginning of Sha'bān he marched by the desert on Ṭabas with all speed. Then Taraddudī Bābā, who was at Ṭabas on behalf of Mīr Muḥammad Walī Beg, hastened to the fort. And the Ghāzīs, coming by a devious way, assaulted Ṭabas, and slew all they met, to the number of seven thousand souls. Then the fire of Ismā'il's wrath was quenched, and he returned to Iṣfahān. And, by reason of the passage of the army, there was famine in the land. So Ismā'il sent for Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Muḥammad, and commanded him to sell stores of corn in the winter. But the Amīr swore that he had no more corn in his granaries than sufficed for his own men. So Ismā'il commanded that he should be put to death. At this time Shāh Ṭaqīu'd-dīn, who was charged by certain bad men with writing treasonable letters, was also put to death.

*Events in Transoxiana.*

This year Maḥmūd Sulṭān,<sup>(4)</sup> by order of his brother Shaybak Khān, marched on Qunduz. And Amīr Khusraw Shāh sent 'Abdu'r-raḥmān Beg to meet him. He crossed the river at Salī Sarāī, and met Maḥmūd. But in the battle 'Abdu'l-raḥmān was hit in the shoulder by an arrow, and was defeated. And, when they fled to the city, fear seized Amīr Khusraw Shāh, and he left Qunduz, and fled to the hills. And Mawlānā Muḥammad Turkistānī inclined the people towards Shaybak Khān, and hearkened not to the messages of Amīr Zu'n-nūn, who was nigh at hand. So Amīr Zu'n-nūn came to the camp of Badī'u'z-zamān, and told him of the rebellion of the men of Qunduz. And Maḥmūd Sulṭān entered Qunduz with his warriors.

*The capture of Kābul<sup>(5)</sup> by Bābur.*

Now, when Shaybak Khān conquered Samarqand, Bābur hastened to Andijān. But Shaybak Khān by degrees gained possession of all Turkistān and of Andijān; and Bābur set out for Kābul, and besieged Muḥammad Muqīm, the son of Amīr Zu'n-nūn Arghūn. And



the men of Kābul were inclined towards Bābur. So Muḥammad Muqīm left Kābul for Qandahār, having made a covenant, and Bābur took Kābul.

This year, too, Badī'u'z-zamān, Amīr Khusraw Shāh, and Amīr Zu'n-nūn visited Herāt, and met the Sultān in the Jahānārāy<sup>(6)</sup> Garden. And Sultān Ḥusayn let them go, and went towards the river Murghāb.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year Kār Kiyā Sultān Ḥasan<sup>(7)</sup> rebelled against his brother Kār Kiyā Mirzā'Alī, King of Gīlān, and put to death Kār Kiyā Farīdūn, Minister of Mirzā'Alī, at the village of Shalandarūd near Daylamān. Then Mirzā'Alī gave up the government to Ḥasan, and busied himself in religious works.

This year, too, an envoy came from Sultān Bayazīd of Turkey bearing congratulations to Ismā'il for his conquest of 'Irāq and Fārs, and presents. And His Majesty declared his love for Sultān Bāyazīd, and sent back his envoy with presents and honours.

*Deaths.*

Muḥammad Karra was, in the time of the White Sheep Sultāns, Dārogha of Abarqūh, and he was confirmed in this place by Ismā'il. But at last he went against Ismā'il. He was burnt at Iṣfahān, as has been written.

Mawlānā Ḥusayn Wā'iḡ died this year—the greatest authority of the age on astronomy and composition. Among his works are:—Jawāhiru't-tafsīr; Rauzatu's-shuhadā; Anwār-i-Suhayli; Akhlāq-i-Muḥsini; Masābiḥu'l-qulūb; Ikhtiyārāt; Makhzanu'l-inshā.

Alwand Beg,<sup>(8)</sup> bin Yūsuf Beg bin Ḥasan Pādshāh, wandered about for a time after he was beaten, and went to Baghdād, and from thence to Diyārbakr. There he overcame Qāsim Beg, son of Jahāngīr Beg the brother of Ḥasan Pādshāh, at Mārdīn. And soon after this he died.

*A.H. 911.*

Ismā'il passed the winter at Tārum, and sent certain of his nobles against Amīr Ḥusāmu'd-dīn,<sup>(1)</sup> King of Resht. And he himself went to Resht from Tārum with a large army. But Ḥusāmu'd-dīn sent presents, and Shekh Najmu'd-dīn of Resht interceded for him. So Ismā'il forgave him, and returned.

*Events in Khurāsān.*

Shaybak Khān sent an army to attack Maymana and Fāryāb.<sup>(2)</sup> And they plundered these countries. Then Muḥammad Qāsim Mīrzā,<sup>(3)</sup> who was related through his mother to Mīrzā Bāysunqur, was received by Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and set out with Amīr Shīram Jalāir<sup>(4)</sup> and Amīr Bābā Jān,<sup>(5)</sup> son of Khwāja Jalālu'd-dīn Mīrakī, to withstand the Uzbeks. But he was overcome by them and slain, with the two other Amīrs. And Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, when he heard of this, feared to winter in the Jahānārāy Garden, and came into the City Garden, and sent Khwāja Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad Munshī to call Badī'u'z-zamān to Herāt. And Badī'u'z-zamān came, and stayed in the house of Amīr 'Alī Shīr. In the spring the Sultān set out with twelve thousand men to attack Transoxiana, sending forward Badī'u'z-zamān as advance guard. After he reached Bābā Ilāhī<sup>(6)</sup> the Sultān grew weak, so that he could not march in the evening or at night. And he sent to call Badī'u'z-zamān, who set out with three hundred men. And he found his father exceeding weak.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year Ismā'il appointed Abdāl Beg Dada, the Qūrchī Bāshī,<sup>(7)</sup> to inquire who had joined the enemy in the war with Sultān Ḥaydar. And many were put to death on this account.

*Deaths.*

Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā<sup>(8)</sup> bin Mīrzā Maṣṣūr bin Mīrzā Bāyqarā bin Mīrzā 'Umar Shekh bin Tīmūr Gūrgān died on the eleventh of the month Zi'l-Ḥijja at the village of Bābā Ilāhī. He was a learned, just, wise, and kindly king; who cherished his subjects, and honoured the learned, and built for them in Herāt a Madrasa, the like of which the world has not, with stipends for ten thousand students. And in his assemblies men spoke of learned matters, and of poetry. And he founded and completed fine buildings, and the Garden of Desire. For twenty years of his reign he was paralysed, and could not walk nor ride, but was carried in a litter by four men. His kingdom stretched from the Oxus to Dāmaghān. He lived to be seventy-one, and he reigned for thirty-nine years. He had fourteen sons :—Farrukh Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Shāh Gharīb Mīrzā, Ḥaydar Muḥam-

mad Mirzā, Muḥammad Ma'sūm Mirzā, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mirzā, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā, Abū Turāb Mirza—and these died before him ; Badī'u'z-zamān Mirzā, Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā, Kupuk Mirzā, Ibn Ḥusayn Mirzā, Abū'l-Muḥsin Mirzā, Muḥammad Qāsim Mirzā, Farīdūn Ḥusayn Mirzā—and these outlived him. He had also eleven daughters. After his death the chiefs consulted together, and would have made Badī'u'z-zamān king. But some said that the name of Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā should be joined with his in the Khuṭba and on the coins. And they were at strife, and the argument was long. For Khadija Begī Āghā,<sup>(9)</sup> the mother of Muẓaffar Ḥusayn, was a woman of influence. So they made Badī'u'z-zamān and Muẓaffar Ḥusayn joint rulers. Coins were struck, and the Khuṭba was said in the Mosque at Herāt, in their joint names ; and the districts and the artizan tax of the city were divided equally, and all the kingdom. Then the other brothers said that they would all have obeyed Badī'uz-zamān, had he been sole ruler, but not when Muẓaffar Ḥusayn was made joint with him. And they had the Khuṭba read, each in his own name in his own place.

Kār Kiyā Mirzā 'Alī, Lord of Gīlān, was a pious man, who passed his time in worship and reading the Qurān. This year he was killed by the men of Lāhijān at Rānikū. His age was sixty-four years, and he had reigned for twenty-eight years. His kingdom was Bīya Pas of Gīlān. This same year Sulṭān Ḥasan, his brother, was also killed at Rānikū. And when news of this reached his son Kār Kiyā Sulṭān Aḥmad, who was then at Ismā'il's camp, Ismā'il sent him to Gīlān with a body of Ghāzīs. And at Rānikū the chiefs, who had killed his father and uncle, met him. Then he put them to death, when they were about to kiss his feet. And he became the ruler.

#### A.H. 912.

Now Ismā'il wintered at Khūy. And he sent his Chiefs against Ṣārim<sup>(1)</sup> Kurd. So the Kurds fled to their high hills. And their country was plundered by the Ghāzīs, and many of those faithless men were slain. Hearing that Ṣārim had came down to the foot of the hills to fight, the Royal army set themselves ready to meet him. And there was a great battle. And 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū and Sārū 'Alī Takalū, the Keeper of the Seal, were among the number of the slain.

Then Bayrām Beg Qarāmānlū and Khulafā Beg returned to the Royal camp.

*Badī'u'z-zamān and Bābur attack Shaybak Khān.*

This year Shaybak Khan sent Īl Amān<sup>(2)</sup> against Khurāsān. And he crossed the Oxus and ravaged as far as Murghāb. And some crossed the river Marv, and sacked Bādghīs. Then Amīr Zu'n-nūn, taking Amīr Sultān Bāyazīd Barlās<sup>(3)</sup> with him, hastened to meet them. And the Uzbeks fled to Dasht-i-zardak, and Amir Zu'n-nūn came up with them, and killed about a hundred, and captured seventy, and returned. At this time Mawlānā Khaṭāī came to Herāt as envoy from Shaybak Khān, saying that the forefathers of the princes were ever wont to come to his forefathers, and they should do the same. But Badī'u'z-zamān, knowing that Shaybak Khān would fain get knowledge of the affairs of Khurāsān, put the Mawlānā in prison, and sent messengers to all parts of Khurāsān to summon the princes. And at this time Bābur came<sup>(4)</sup> to Herāt, to fight with the princes against Shaybak Khān. And Badī'u'z-zamān and Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Khān hastened to meet him, and sent him all manner of presents and three hundred Kupukī<sup>(5)</sup> tumans. And envoys came from Amīr Sultān Qipchāq, Governor of Balkh, saying that Shaybak Khān had laid siege to Balkh, and that the stores laid by were all used up. So they, and Bābur, and his brother Jahāngīr Mīrzā, and Muḥammad Qāsim Mīrzā, left Herāt in the early autumn for Balkh, and Abu'l-Muḥsin Mīrzā, Ibn Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and Mīr Sultān 'Alī Arghūn, joined the camp. But Kupuk Mīrzā did not join his brothers; for, in his folly, he hoped to become independent in his rule at Mashhad. And thereby ruin came on the plans of Badī'u'z-zamān.

Now<sup>(6)</sup> Amīr Zu'n-nūn pleaded that it would be hard for the Chaghatāys to gather together again as they had done, and they should hasten to attack the Uzbeks. But Amīr Muḥammad Burandūq thought that Kupuk Mīrzā would march on Herāt, while they were away, and would draw away the greater part of the chiefs in the camp, who would desert to him. They should return to Herāt, and deal with the enemies at home; and in the spring they should hasten against the Uzbeks. And at this time news came that Shaybak Khān<sup>(7)</sup> had taken Balkh, and returned to Samarqand. So Bābur left for Kābul, and Badī'u'z-zamān for Herāt.

*A.H. 913. The attack of Ismā'il on 'Alā'u'd-dawla<sup>(1)</sup> Zu'l-Qadar, and the flight of that chief.*

Now this year news came that 'Alā'u'd-dawla had left the straight path of obedience, and had joined Sultān Murād, and fain would meddle with the Persian realm. So Shāh Ismā'il gathered together his army, and set out in the early summer for Albistān; and he reached Qaysariyya, a province of Sultān Bāyazīd of Turkey. But to the people of that country he did no harm. Then 'Alā'u'd-dawla fled to the Durna mountains. And Ismā'il sent Lala Beg with his Ghāzīs to the Jahān river to find a ford. And Lala Beg crossed. But his men were scattered, looking for grass and fodder. And Sārū Qapalān, the son of 'Alā'u'd-dawla, came with his braves, and, because his men were many, he overcame Lala Beg, and threw him from his horse. Then Khalīl Āghā, daring death, got to Lala Beg, and mounted him on his own horse. And he escaped from the battle. But they killed Khalīl Āghā and three hundred Ghāzīs, and returned. And in Albistān Amīr Beg bin Gulābī Beg bin Amīr Beg Mawṣilū, who had been for years Governor of Diyārbakr on behalf of the White Sheep Sultāns, came to Ismā'il's camp with his retainers, and was received and appointed Keeper of the Seal. Since 'Alā'u'd-dawla would not meet Shāh Ismā'il, His Majesty named him Alādāna. And the Ghāzīs burnt the land of the enemy, and returned to Khūy. And on the way Ismā'il heard of the fort called Zar Pard, and that a number of the rebel Zu'l-Qadarīs dwelt therein, harassing travellers, and trusting in the strength of their fort and their stores. So the Shāh commanded that the fort should be surrounded, and attacked. And the men of the fort, beholding the prowess of the Ghāzīs, yielded it up, and obeyed. And Ismā'il put those who were guilty to death, and the good he forgave. Then he bestowed the governorship of Diyārbakr on Khān Muḥammad Ustājilū, and sent him thither. A strange thing it is that the writer of the Ḥabibu's-siyar, though he lived at this time, says that there was a three days' battle between Shāh Ismā'il and 'Alā'u'd-dawla. But, in truth, there was no battle at all.

*The war of Khān Muḥammad Ustājilū and Sārū Qapalān<sup>(2)</sup>  
Zu'l-Qadar.*

Now Khān Muḥammad, leaving the Royal camp, turned towards Qarā Āmid.<sup>(3)</sup> And at that time the Governor, Qāytams Beg, brother

of Amīr Beg Mawṣilū, came against him, and would not give up the city. So the Ghāzīs had to winter in the plain. And the Kurds of Diyārbakr attacked them, and slew all that they met. And they made food scarce, and it could not be got. So Khān Muḥammad, seeing that the Ghāzīs had nought to eat, turned to the encampment of the Kurds. And he could not get to the foe; so he turned his back and fled; for war is deceit. And the Kurds pursued after him. And when they came to a level place, he turned. And they fought; and he overcame them, and they fled; and the Ghāzīs pursued them, and slew of them nearly seven thousand, and took much plunder and food. And Khān Muḥammad returned to his camp. Then he heard that Qāytams Beg had sent to 'Alā'u'd-dawla and asked for help, saying that he would deliver Āmid to him. And 'Alā'u'd-dawla sent two thousand men with his sons, Qāsim Beg, and Sārū Qapalān, and Urdūwāna Beg. And Khān Muḥammad, being in doubt, took counsel with his officers. And all were for attacking; for they thought that the enemy were few, because of the smallness of their camp. And at dawn Muḥammad Khān met the Zu'l-Qadarīs with two thousand men—being eight hundred advance guard under his brother Qarā Beg, and twelve hundred in the centre under himself. On the other side Sārū Qapalān gathered his men in the centre, and attacked and overthrew Qarā Beg, whose men then fought on foot. Then Khān Muḥammad threw himself with his braves against the foe with shouts of Allāh, Allāh. And the horses of the Zu'l-Qadarīs were thrown against one another, and many were overthrown on the frozen ground. And Sārū Qapalān and three hundred Zu'l-Qadarīs fought on foot. But Khān Muḥammad knew him, and commanded that he should be taken and brought before him. Urdūwāna Beg was also taken. And of the Zu'l-Qadarīs seven hundred men of renown, and three Amīrs, were slain. And Sārū Qapalān besought that he should be sent to the Shāh, and Khān Muḥammad consented thereto. But, in the end, both he and Urdūwāna were put to death, and their heads were sent to the Court. And the messenger reached the Royal camp at Khūy, and was given bounteous presents and honours, and returned to Diyārbakr. After this Khān Muḥammad made the fort of Āmid his object. For some days Amīr Qāytams held the fort. Then Aḥmad Chalabī, the Kalāntar of the city, turned from Amīr Qāytams, and drew the Ghāzīs into a tower. So Amīr Qāytams was taken and killed, and Khān

Muḥammad took up his quarters in Āmid. And, when 'Ala'u'd-dawla heard of these things, grief and sorrow came upon him.

*The war<sup>(4)</sup> of Shaybak Khān and Badī'u'z-zamān.*

Now Shaybak Khān, since he came to independent power and Bābur had gone to Kābul, desired to conquer Khurāsān, but Sultān Husayn Mirzā was in the way. So when the Sultān died the Khān crossed the river at Karkī with a vast host, and Ḥamza Sultān and Mahdī Sultān gathered the armies of Khaylān, Khatlān, Qunduz, and Baghlān, and joined him and they camped near Andikhūd, and Amīr Shāh Manṣūr,<sup>(5)</sup> who was Badī'u'z-zamān's Governor, yielded it up to them. Then Shaybak Khān hastened to attack the princes. And he reached Bādghīs, before the tidings of his crossing the river were confirmed. Then the Sultāns of Khurāsān were divided in counsel. For Amīr Zu'n-nūn would fain fight in the plains; and Amīr Muḥammad Buranduq was for a siege in Herāt. And before they agreed upon a plan, on the morning of Thursday the seventh of the month Muḥarram, signs of Shaybak Khān's army were seen. Under Tīmūr Sultān was the advance guard; and 'Ubayd Khān, son of Maḥmūd Sultān the brother of Shaybak Khān, commanded the wings. And Badī'u'z-zamān and Muẓaffar Husayn drew up their army. Then Amīr Zu'n-nūn, the Lion of bravery,<sup>(6)</sup> attacked. But his men were overborne by numbers, and fled; and he was killed. And Amīr Shekh 'Alī, and many of his Chaghatāy officers, were taken. And the Uzbeks pursued them as far as Tughūz Ribāt.

Now Sayyid 'Abdullāh Mirzā joined Kupuk Mirzā at Mashhad. And 'Abdu'l-bāqī Mirzā, and Amīr Muḥammad Buranduq, joined Ibn Husayn Mirzā at Sabzawār. But Badī'u'z-zamān fled towards Qandahār, and Muẓaffar Husayn towards Astarābād. So Shaybak Khān made for Herāt, and the leaders of the city met him at Kahadstān—Amīr Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥaddiṣ,<sup>(7)</sup> Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Muḥammad<sup>(8)</sup> bin Amīr Yūsuf, and the Shekhu'l-Islām of Herāt.<sup>(9)</sup>—Thus they marched towards the city. And before them went the heralds saying, "Say not, 'Let God and Muḥammad and 'Alī be thy friends.' But say, 'Let God and Muḥammad and the four successors be thy friends.'" And before the Khān there went a female singer singing a quatrain:—

Time's portals open fly ; ' See, here am I.'  
 Kings shew themselves and cry, ' See, here am I.'  
 Settle to work ; the portal opes for Death,  
 ' The time has come to die. See, here am I.'

And the Khān commanded that she should be chastised, and that her drum should be broken. Then he entered the city, and offered prayers in the Great Mosque, and commanded that they should call him in the Khuṭba the Imām of the Time and the Successor of the Merciful.

Now, when Kupuk Mīrzā heard of this defeat, he and Abū'l-Muḥsin gathered together an army. And Shaybak Khān sent Tīmūr Sulṭān and 'Ubayd Sulṭān towards Mashhad with men. Then the princes, hearing of their coming, gathered their chiefs together. And Amīr Muḥammad Walī Beg said that Shaybak Khān had sent the greater part of his army, and was in the camp at Kahadstān with but few men ; let them attack him and fall upon him of a sudden, going by a pathless way. And others were for attacking the Uzbeks, fearing them not. And Kupuk Mīrzā and Abū'l-Muḥsin Mīrzā followed the second opinion. So they left Mashhad and drew up in battle order between Mashhad and Ṭuruq.<sup>(10)</sup> Then these two armies met in battle. And the army of Khurāsān was overthrown ; and the princes were taken and brought before 'Ubayd Khān. And both were cut down by the sword. And the remnant of the army joined Ibn Ḥusayn Mīrzā at Sabzawār. Then 'Ubayd Khān and Tīmūr Sulṭān advanced on Sabzawār. And Ibn Ḥusayn Mīrzā stood at Ribāt-i-do-dar, and drove back the Uzbeks. But 'Ubayd stayed his flying men, and upbraided them. So eighty braves returned to the fight, and fell on the centre of Ibn Ḥusayn's men, who were sorely shaken. And 'Ubayd Khān was hit sixteen times, but he was protected by Biāqū Bahādur. And Ibn Ḥusayn, having seen victory within his grasp, was forced to fly. And 'Abdu'l-bāqī Mīrzā and Sayyid 'Abdullāh Mīrzā were killed, and Amīr Muḥammad Burandūq was taken captive. But Ibn Ḥusayn fled to 'Irāq and Ādarbāyjān to the Shāh, and was honourably received and protected.

*Miscellaneous events.*

On the tenth of the first Rabī' the Franks conquered Hormaz, leaving nought but the name of King to Salghūr Shāh<sup>(11)</sup> bin Tūrān



Shāh, who yielded to the king of Portugal. This year Shaybak Khān made Jān Wafā Mirzā of the Nāimān<sup>(12)</sup> tribe Dārogha of Herāt. And Sayyid Hādī Khwāja, his nephew, set up his standard at Mashhad; and the country of Sabzawār was given to Raīs Bahādur. Qambar Bey remained at Marv, and Rāy Bey was made governor at Bākhār. Khurram Shāh Sultān, the son of Bābur Pādshāh's sister, went to the governorship of Balkh, and Qambar Mirzā Kūkaltāsh went with him. And Timūr Sultān was made Sultān of Samarqand; 'Ubayd Khān remaining, as before, at Bukhārā.

This year also Amīr Shujā' Beg, son of Amīr Zu'n-nūn, sent great tribute to Shaybak Khān, and professed allegiance. In the summer Shaybak Khān got out for Transoxiana, taking with him notables of Khurāsān, Ghiyāṣ'd-dīn Muḥammad, Sayyid Ṣa'du'd-dīn Yūnus, and Qāzī Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn Ḥasan. This summer, too, Muḥammad Qāsim Mirzā bin Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā gathered his forces, and advanced towards Mashhad. And Sayyid Hādī Khwāja, being unable to withstand him, fled to Marv. So Shaybak Khān sent 'Ubayd against the invader, and 'Ubayd crossed by the ford of Chahār Jū and came to Mashhad. And Muḥammad Qāsim shut the gates, and withstood him; but he was overthrown, and captured, and killed. Then Bābur<sup>(13)</sup> came from Kābul and Ghaznī to Qandahār, and gained possession of the Land of Dāwar, and divided amongst his nobles and chiefs the long accumulated treasures of Amīr Zu'n-nūn Arghūn. And, entrusting the country to his brother Sultān Naṣīr Mirzā, he returned to Kābul. And Shaybak, hearing of this thing, set out for Qandahār. So, when he came Shāh Beg<sup>(14)</sup> and Amīr Muḥammad Muqīm hastened to him with presents, and were sent forward with 'Ubayd Khān. And Sultān Naṣīr Mirzā left Qandahār and hastened to Kābul, and sent horses to Shaybak Khān, who restored the rule over that land to the sons of Amīr Zu'n-nūn, and returned to Herāt.

#### *Deaths.*

Sārū Qapalān, son of 'Alā'u'd-dawla Zu'l-Qadar. His name was Qāsim; but, because of his bravery, men called him Sārū Qapalān, the yellow panther. Often he fought with the armies of Turkey and Syria. He was slain by the command of Khān Muḥammad.

Muzaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā, son of Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā. When he fled from Shaybak Khān he went to Astārābād; and there he died.

Amīr Zū'n-nān bin Ḥasan-i-Baṣarī, of the tribe of Arghūn. In the time of Abū Sa'īd he was a servant. After the affair of Qarā Bāgh, Zū'n-nūn hurried to Herāt, and there he spent some time in the service of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā. But he fled away, being not favoured as he thought was his due. And, when Sulṭān Ḥusayn marched against Yādīgār-i-Muḥammad Mīrzā,<sup>(15)</sup> he left Yalghūz Yighāch of Khabūshān for Transoxiana and went to Samarqand, and was received by Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā. After this he returned again to Khurāsān, because of the quarrels between the Tarkhānī and Arghūnī nobles. And Sulṭān Ḥusayn gave him the government of Ghūr and the Land of Dāwar, whither he went in 884 A.H. And in the course of three or four years he fought with the people of these states, and overcame them. And Sulṭān Ḥusayn, hearing of his victories, gave him Qandahār and Farah and Sākhūr. Nevertheless he sent certain of the princes as governors to Qandahār. But at last Amīr Zū'n-nūn became independent, and having conquered also Shāl and Mastung,<sup>(16)</sup> he gave the governorship of Qandahār to his eldest son, Shujā' Beg, and the Dāroghaship of Sākhūr and Tūlak to 'Abdu'l-'Alī Tarkhān, and the rule over Ghūr to Amīr Fakhru'd-dīn. And he himself abode in the Land of Dāwar, where he built fine buildings. He joined Badī'u'z-zamān against Sulṭān Ḥusayn. And in the battle of Marāl he was slain at the hands of Shaybak Khān. He was a just man, and he strove to strengthen the observances of religion, and the worship of God.

*A.H. 914. The Shāh makes expedition against Baghdād.*

This year the Shāh sent Khalīl Yasāwal to Baghdād. Now the Governor of Baghdād was Bārīk Purnāk. And, when he heard of the coming of the the Royal dress of honour, he went to meet it, and was honoured by the crown and the dress, and he made all his men put on the Ṣūfī crown, and get ready presents for the imperial ministers, and sent them with Abū Ishāq Shīrachī, who presented them to the Shāh at Hamadān. And they were approved,<sup>(1)</sup> and Abū Ishāq was sent back to Baghdād. Then the Shāh set out for Baghdād, and, when he came near, Bārīk Purnāk fled to Aleppo. On the twenty-fifth of the first Jumādā the Shāh reached Baghdād. And he commanded that the Purnāk men should be put to death, and many of them were slain by the Ghāzīs. Then he loosed Sayyid Muḥammad

Kamūna, a chief man among the Sayyids of Arabian 'Irāq, who had been imprisoned in a well by Bārīk; and gave him the mutawalliship of Najaf, and the governorship of certain cities of 'Irāq. The governorship of Baghdād and its dependencies was given to Khādim Beg, Amīr-i-Dīwān, who was entitled Khalifatu'l-Khulafā.<sup>(2)</sup>

In those days His Majesty heard of a forest, wherein there dwelt a lion, which did much mischief, and had stopped the road in those parts. And his lion-hearted officers begged that they might be sent against this evil beast. But His Majesty would not let them go, but himself approached the beast, and with a single arrow he laid it low on the ground of destruction. And after this he turned towards Huwayza. And Sultān Fayyāz Musha'sha'ī,<sup>(3)</sup> the Governor, fled when he heard of the coming of the Shāh. And His Majesty entrusted the rule over this country to one of his just nobles; and he turned to Dizful. the Governor whereof sent many presents, which were accepted. Then, too, the Governor of Shushtar came to Court with fitting offerings. and was received. And Rustam,<sup>(4)</sup> Governor of the Lesser Lurs. was received, and was given the rule over the Lesser Lurs and Khurramābād. Having accomplished all these things the Shāh passed the winter at Shīrāz,<sup>(5)</sup> and in the spring set out for Ādarbāyjān.

*The war of Muḥammad Khān Ustājīlū and blind Shāhrukh Zu'l-Qadar.*

In the spring Khān Muḥammad camped at the summer quarters of Mārdīn, and sent his brother, Qarā Beg, to ravage Jazīra. And Qarā Beg obeyed, and slew many of the ungodly Kurds, and got much plunder, and again joined the Khān's camp at Mārdīn. And in the meantime 'Alā'u'd-dawla gathered an army to avenge Sārū Qapalān and Urdūwāna Beg, and sent it against Khān Muḥammad with his sons, blind Shāhrukh and Aḥmad Beg. And hearing of this, the Khān came to Āmid, and drew up in battle order against the Zu'l-Qadar army with three thousand horse. But on the other side blind Shāhrukh came to the battle with fifteen thousand horse. And before the battle began the Arab dogs and hounds of the armies fought, and the Ustājīlū hounds pursued the Zu'l-Qadar to the centre of the army. And this strange sight was cheering to the Ghāzīs. And at first the Zu'l-Qadarīs attacked, and reached the centre of the Ustājīlūs. But Khān Muḥammad stood firm, and ordered attack and advance. In fear the Zu'l-Qadarīs stopped their steeds, and the

Ustājilūs attacked and unhorsed many. And the Zu'l-Qadarīs fled, and were pursued, and many were killed. And Shāhrukh and Aḥmad Beg and Muḥammad Beg, the son of 'Azīz Āghā, were taken, and forty chiefs, and Murād Beg, and Urkamz Beg, and Qāytams Beg. And these last two were suffered to live, but the rest were killed; and their heads, and the two living men, were sent to Court. His Majesty was marching from Khūy to 'Irāq when Khān Muḥammad's messenger, with prisoners and heads, arrived and reported about the battle. The Shāh set free Urkamz and Qāytams and made them his servants, and sent to Khān Muḥammad a gold embroidered crown and a jewelled sword. Then 'Alā'u'd-dawla wept, and put on a black felt. And his chiefs also put on sackcloth, and mourned. And he perceived that to hope for Diyārbakr was as the beating of air in a mortar.

*The coming of Shaybak Khān to Astarābād, and the flight<sup>(6)</sup> of Badī'u'z-zamān.*

Now this year Shaybak Khān crossed the Oxus for Astarābād, and Badī'u'z-zamān, hearing of his coming, left his son Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān, with his uncle Farīdūn Ḥusayn Mīrzā, in the fort of Dāmaghān, and set forth for 'Irāq and Ādarbāyjān. And Shaybak Khān entrusted Astarābād to Khwāja Aḥmad Qunqurāt.<sup>(7)</sup> And when the Khān appeared at Dāmaghān Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, and Farīdūn Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and all the chiefs, determined to resist a siege; and the Uzbeks besieged the fort. But after some days the princes sent envoys to the Khān, asking for quarter. And a pact was made, and they were kindly received. Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān was permitted to go to Ādarbāyjān, and Farīdūn Ḥusayn Mīrzā, without leave from the Khān, fled to the river Atrak and among the Yaqa Turkmāns.<sup>(8)</sup> Then the Khān took the whole country from Bistām to Turkistān, and passed the summer at Ulang-i-Rādkān,<sup>(9)</sup> and in the winter hastened to Transoxiana.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the Shāh made Shekh Najm Zargar Wazīr, and his seal was placed above all seals on official deeds. Badī'u'z-zamān, fleeing from the Uzbeks, came to the Shāh's Court, and by His Majesty's command, he was met by Bayrām Beg Qarāmānlū. And he was honourably received, and a fitting place was appointed for him.

*Deaths.*

Blind Shāhrukh, son of 'Alā'u'd-dawla Zu'l-Qadar. He was blind, and the cause of his blindness was this. In 894 A.H. Būdāq Beg Zu'l-Qadar Ūghalī went to Bāyazīd of Turkey, and taking a force from the Sultān, attacked Shāhrukh at night, and captured him, and blinded him. In revenge 'Alā'u'd-dawla made a great war on the Turkish army. Būdāq fled, but Muhāl Ūghalī Iskandar Beg the Turkish commander was taken, and sent to Qānṣū the King of Egypt. A marvel is that there was a blind man in the Ustājlı army, who ever complained to God, and said:—'O God, make the blind the captive of the blind.' And in the battle he captured the blind Shāhrukh.

This year, too, Muḥammād Muqīm bin Amīr Zu'n-nūn Arghūn died a natural death at Qandahār.

*A.H. 915. Second expedition of the Shah to Shīrwān.*

The Shāh, this winter of excessive cold, left Khūy for Shīrwān, and reached the river Kūr, and crossed by a bridge he had ordered to be made. Shekhshāh, hearing of the Shāh's coming, prepared for siege in the fort of Bīqrid. The Royal camp moved towards Bākū. Its Kotwal hastened to the Court with presents, and was honoured with rewards and special dresses. The Shāh proceeded from Bākū to Shābirān,<sup>(1)</sup> and the Governor hastened to meet him, and submitted. After this His Majesty advanced towards Darband,<sup>(2)</sup> which is a fortress of renowned strength. And the army gathered there. At the fort were Yār Aḥmad Āghā and Muḥammad Beg, and men who knew of battles. And they sent down arrows and stones, while the Persian braves fought, and their mine drivers mined. And they made the towers of the fort like unto a sieve. And Yār Aḥmad Āghā and Muḥammad Beg perceived that the case was a hard one. So with sword and shroud they came to the Court, and were honourably received. And His Majesty placed on the neck of Manṣūr Beg the collar of the government of Darband. And he commanded that the body of Sultān Ḥaydar, which had been buried in Tabarsarān,<sup>(3)</sup> should be moved to Ardabil. So they placed it in a litter, and buried it in the family tomb. And his members were not decayed, though he had long been dead. Then the Shāh returned across the Kūr, and came to Tabrīz.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Now this summer Shaybak Khān sent a great army to attack Kirmān. And they plundered certain of its districts, and killed Khwāja Shekh Muhammad, the Kalāntar of Kirmān and returned to Khurāsān. And Shaybak Khān sent a letter to the Shāh, and in it was this verse :—

Desire ends not for us when all  
     'Irāq before us lies.  
 For Mecca and Medīna are  
     Our final goal and prize.

And to this the Shāh replied :—

Yet Mecca and Medīna give  
     Salvation not to you, -  
 Who are Bu Turāb's<sup>(4)</sup> foes, nor yield  
     To him devotion true.

And this year Shaybak Khān was defeated by Qāsim Sultān, King of the Plain of Qipchāq, and came back to Khurāsān in disorder. Thereafter he led an army against the Hazāra and Nikūdārī<sup>(5)</sup> tribes of the hill country of the Land of Dawar, but could do nothing. This year, too, in the month of Rajab, the Shāh dismissed Abdāl Beg Dada, the grantee of Qazwīn and Sāwukh Bulāgh and Ray, and gave his fief to Zaynal Beg Shāmlū, and gave him the title of Khān. And the great place of Ṣadārat he gave in sole charge to Sayyid Sharif of Shīrāz, one of the sons of the daughter of Amīr Sayyid Sharif 'Allāma. And in Tabriz he dismissed Ḥusayn Beg Lala, the Amīru'l-umarā, and gave his place to Muḥammad Beg Sufrachī Ustājlu and the title of Chāyān Sultān. And Qāzī Muḥammad<sup>(6)</sup> of Kāshān, who held the Ṣadārat and was an Amīr, and had slain men unjustly, and done other evil things, and had been given the governorship of Yazd and Kāshān and many places in Persian 'Irāq, and held also the governorship of Shīrāz, was put to death by the Shāh's command.

*Deaths.*

Farīdūn Ḥusayn Mīrzā, son of Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā. When he heard of Shaybak Khān's attack on Qāsim Sultān he left the Yaqa Turkmāns, and took the fort of Kalāt.<sup>(7)</sup> But Qambar Beg, the Governor of Marv, attacked Kalāt with an Uzbek army, and captured Farīdūn and killed him.

Najmu'd-dīn Mas'ūd, the Wakīl of the Shāh, died of pleurisy at Khamna near Tabrīz. And they took his body to Najaf. His place was given to Amīr Yār Muḥammad of Khūzān under Iṣfahān, who was given the title of Najmu's-ṣānī. Mawlāna Ummīdī of Tehrān wrote a qasīda in his honour.

*A.H. 916. The Shāh's war with Shaybak Khān.*

Now, since the time that Shaybak Khān conquered Khurāsān, the Shāh was ever thinking of battle against him. Yet, because of other affairs he could not act. But this year all fear was gone for 'Irāq, and Fārs, and Kirmān, and Shīrwān, and Ādarbāyjān, and Diyārbakr. And much he heard of Shaybak's conquests in Khurāsān and Badakhshān and Transoxiana, and in Tāskand and Turkistān. Moreover Shaybak Khān Shaybānī had thoughts of sovereignty, and had left the path of justice, and trodden the way of tyranny, and had forsaken the old and straight road, and ever made invasions, and plundered the poor. And he had sent Ismā'īl a letter,<sup>(1)</sup> writing thus, in words offensive:—

'O Ismā'īl Dārogha, honoured by our Royal regard! Know that the duty of Government, and of the destruction of foes, was confirmed by Everlasting Decree to our august forefather, and that the throne of justice has been given to Us, and the stamp of bravery adorns Us. And a voice has come to Us from the Unseen. And the words of the Prophet show that the son inherits what was his father's. Thy rise is even as the rise of Canopus, while Ours is the coming of the Sun.

'Now concerning the pilgrimage which is incumbent on all Moslem men, keep the roads that lead to the Ka'ba, for Our armies desire to visit it. Let men make ready presents, and let them stamp coins with Our titles and recite the Khuṭba in Our victorious name. And come thyself to Our Court. Else We shall send Our son, 'Ubaydullāh, with men from Bukhārā, and Samarqand, and Hazāra, and Nikūdārī, and Ghūr, and Gharjistān, that they may chastise thee; or Our younger son, Timūr Bahādur with chiefs and soldiers from Qandahār, and Baghlān, and Ḥiṣār-Shādmān, and Badakhshān, as far as the coasts of Turkistān; or 'Abdu'l-Naṣr Kamālu'd-dīn Sūnjuk Bahādur Khān, with Ḥamza Bahādur Khān on the right wing, and Salīmu'd-dīn Mahdi Bahādur Khān on the left, and with chiefs and men from Andijān, and Qand-i-Bādām,<sup>(2)</sup> and Shāhrukhiyya, and Tāshkand,

and the cities of Sabz, and Utripa, and Ṣayrān, and Urganj, and Khīva, and the banks of the Oxus, and Kāshghar, and Manqut, to the coasts of Qipchāq and Qulmāq.'

Therefore His Majesty was set on marching against him. And he sent his standard bearers into all parts to gather his armies. And they moved from camp Sulṭāniyya towards Ray, and from thence to Dāmaghān. And the Governor, Aḥmad Sulṭān, the son-in-law of Shaybak Khān, when he heard of the coming of the Persians, fled towards Herāt. Aḥmad Qunqurāt, also, the Governor of Astarābād, fled towards Khīva. And the lords of Astarābād, Seyyid Rafī', Bābā Nodar, and others, brought presents, and were received at Bistām. And at Jājurm Khwāja Muẓaffar Bitikchī entered the Shāh's service.

But Shaybak Khān, sorely distressed after his expedition to Hazāra, was staying at Balkh when Aḥmad Sulṭān came to Herāt, and reported that the Shāh had come to Khurāsān for battle, with a countless host of archers and swordsmen and spearmen. And Shaybak Khān, for all his boasting that he would lead his men to conquer 'Irāq and Ādarbāyjān and then to the Hījāz, was smitten with fear, so that late in the month of Rajab, and before the Royal armies reached Sabzawār, he fled from Herāt to Marv. And, after he fled, Jān Wafā Mirzā hastened after him to Marv with the men of Transoxiana. And Shaybak Khān, intending to be besieged, brought the people from outside into the city, and strengthened its fortifications, and sent messengers to Bukhārā and Samarqand, to call 'Ubayd Khān and Timūr Sulṭān. News of all this reached the Shāh near Tūs. And he went to visit the tomb of 'Alī bin Mūsā, the Eighth Imām, and gave largess to the Sayyids and the chief men and attendants of the Holy Shrine. Then scouts brought in certain of the enemy, whom they had taken near Jām. And from them it was known that Shaybak Khān had fled towards Marv. So the Royal armies set out for that city, and Dānā Muḥammad Beg Afshār was sent ahead from Sarakhs with troops towards Marv. Then Shaybak Khān sent two of his chief nobles, Jān Wafā Mirzā and Qambar Beg, to meet the Persians. Near Ṭāhirābād they met and fought, and Dānā Muḥammad was killed by an Uzbek arrow, but the Ghāzīs prevailed and drove the Uzbeks into Marv. And the Shāh encamped outside Marv on the twentieth of the month of Sha'bān, and Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū, Chāyān Sulṭān Ustājilū, Bādinjān Sulṭān Rūmlū, Zaynal Khān Shāmlū, and



Mirzā Muḥammad Ṭālish, attacked the gate. And certain fierce Uzbeks came out and fought, and many were killed on both sides. And, when darkness fell, they camped again, and watched. In the morning again they fought till eve, and again they camped and watched and in the morning fought again. And Mirzā Muḥammad Ṭālish showed how brave he was. In this manner they fought outside Marv for the space of seven days.

*The battle, and the death<sup>(3)</sup> of Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī.*

Now, when the Shāh had besieged Marv for some days, and saw no sign of victory, he was minded to retreat one day's march, so that Shaybak Khān should take heart and come out, purposing then to turn and destroy him. So, on Wednesday the twenty-eighth of the month Sha'bān, he moved from outside Marv, and camped near the village of Maḥmūdī, three leagues from the city. For a day and two nights he stayed there. And on the next day he kept Amīr Beg Turkmān with three hundred horse at the bridge of Maḥmūdī, commanding him to flee, when he saw the blackness of the Uzbek army, and rejoin him, so that the foe might take courage and cross the black water that was on that road. And, when Shaybak Khān came to know of the retreat of the Royal army, he thought they would go back to 'Irāq and Ādarbāyjan. By reason of his caution he would not leave Marv the first day, but took counsel with his officers. And Qambar Beg and Jān Wafā Mirzā pleaded that he should wait yet two or three days, till 'Ubayd Khān and Timūr Sulṭān joined them, and then go out, for, said they, the Qizilbāsh retreat was not from weakness, but from fraud. But Shaybak Khān was over proud, and he abused them, and they were silenced. And his wife, Mughal Khānam, upbraided him, saying he had oftentimes written to the Shāh and called him to battle. And now he had come with his tired army even unto Marv. But Shaybak Khān let the dust of shame settle on his head, and would not leave Marv. Let him now go to battle, as a brave man should, for cowardice is a vice among men.

And at the words of Mughal Khānam Shaybak Khan's zeal was fired, and on the Friday morn he set his foot outside the fortress with a vast host.<sup>(4)</sup> When he reached Maḥmūdī Amīr Khān Turkmān fled; and Shaybak crossed the black water. And amazement took him when he saw the Royal army drawn up for battle. It is

said that, when his sight fell on the Qizilbāsh array, he repented of his boldness, and told Khwāja Maḥmūd the Wazīr to go and hearten Jān Wafā Mirza, saying: 'Be firm of heart, for I will overthrow the Qizilbāshes.' But Jān Wafā Mirza cursed the Khān, and said; 'Tell the Khān their army is mighty, and, with the men we have, we cannot overcome them. Pity it is that he hearkened not to our counsel. But now has he given us and himself over to death, and our wives and children will be captives in the hands of the Qizilbāshes'. Then Shaybak took the centre of his army, and entrusted the right and left wings to Qambar Beg and Jān Wafā Mirza.

And, when the Shāh knew from the coming of Amīr Beg that the foe was nigh at hand, he drew up his army, and gave the right and left wings to his chiefs, Amīr Najmu's-ḡānī, Bayrām Beg Qarāmānlū, Chāyān Sultān Ustājilū, Div Sultān Rūmlū, Ḥusayn Beg Lala, Abdāl Beg Dada, Zaynal Beg Shāmlū, and Bādinjān Sultān Rūmlū. Then the braves rushed upon one another, and the Shāh turned back his turban from his Ṣūfī cap, and drew his mighty sword, and charged the foe. All day long Shaybak Khān held firm, but in the end the Persians prevailed. And when the sun rose countless numbers of the foe lay dead. Of the men of Khurāsān Khwāja Jalālū'd-dīn Maḥmūd, Khwāja Ḥusayn Dīwān, and Khwāja 'Abdullāh of Marv, were killed, and many of the Uzbeks. And Qambar Beg and Jān Wafā Mirza were taken captive, and were put to death. And the remnants of the Uzbek army reached the black water in their flight, and thought to cross it and be saved. But they fell into the whirlpool of destruction. The Maḥmūdī channel was blocked with men and horses, and, whosoever crossed, went over the bodies of men and their steeds. Then Shaybak Khān, fleeing, reached a walled place, whence was no way out. And the Ghāzīs<sup>(6)</sup> came round about it; and the Uzbeks crowded, one on the top of another; so that many were crushed beneath their horses. And some, in whom the breath of life was left, stood upon the dead, and reached the top of the wall. Then these men the Ghāzīs slew. And, when all were slain, certain of the Royal servants found Shaybak Khān smothered beneath the crush, and dead. Then the Shāh commanded that his wicked head should be cut from off his body, and stuffed with straw, and sent to Sultān Bāyazīd of Turkey, and that the bones of his skull should be mounted in gold and fashioned into a cup. And they poured wine into it, and sent it

round in the Royal assembly. Māmūsh,<sup>(6)</sup> and Qāzī Manšūr, and all the chiefs, and ten thousand Uzbek warriors, were slain, and not one was left alive. So Khurāsān bloomed once more.

Then the Shāh moved towards Marv. And there he divided among his chiefs and Ghāzīs the goods of Shaybak Khān, which he had amassed in many years. And he bestowed Marv on Dada Beg. Then, having sent out news of the victory, he marched<sup>(7)</sup> upon Herāt; and there he stayed for the winter. And 'Ubayd Khān, who was coming to help Shaybak, arrived when the Uzbek army had been broken. And he took away Mughal Khānam, and made for Bukhārā in fear.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year Īl Pārs Khān,<sup>(8)</sup> who was of the descendant of Shaybān bin Jūjī bin Chingīz Khān, conquered Khwārazm, and sent Kupuk Beg Qūshchī as Dārogha there. Now the Shāh had bestowed the Amirship of Khurāsān on Atlandī Beg. But Sharīf Ṣūfī Mīr Khizr Īlī took Khwārazm from him. Then Īl Pārs came with a great host from the Plain of Qipchāq, and Sharīf Ṣūfī gave up the province of Khwārazm to him.

At the winter quarters Mīrzā Sultān Uways bin Mīrzā Sultān Maḥmūd bin Sultān Abū Sa'īd, known as Khān Mīrzā,<sup>(9)</sup> came to Court with presents from Badakhshān, and after some days returned to his own country.

This year Sultān Salīm and his father Sultān Bāyazīd fought a great battle at Kūy,<sup>(10)</sup> between Adrianople and Constantinople. And Sultān Salīm fled to Trebizond.

*Deaths.*

Shaybak Khān<sup>(11)</sup> bin Būdāq Sultān bin Abū'l Khayr Khān bin Dawlat Shekh bin Īltī Ūghalan bin Fūlād Ūghalan bin Ayba Khwāja bin Taghtay bin Balaghān bin Shaybān bin Jūjī bin Chingīz Khān. His mother was Qūzī Begam. In his boyhood his father died, and his grandsire, Abū'l Khayr, kept him. And when his grandsire died he went to Qāsim Sultān, Lord of the Plain of Qipchāq. And he inclined the Uzbeks to himself, and turned towards Utrār and Ṣay-rān.<sup>(12)</sup> But the Ruler of those places, Īranjī Khān bin Jānī Beg Khān, overcame him, and he hastened to Bukhārā. And 'Abdu'l-'Alī Tarkhān,<sup>(13)</sup> the Governor of Bukhārā on behalf of Sultān Aḥmad

Mīrzā bin Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, received him with honour, and took him to Samarqand to Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā; and he stayed there two years. Then he set out for the Plain, and warred against and overcame Parandūq Khān, the King of the Plain, and conquered Ṣayrān as has been written. In his person he was like Kūdaja Aḥmad bin Ḥasan Pādshāh. He lived sixty-two years, and he reigned for eleven years. His realm was Transoxiana, and Khurāsān, Ḥiṣār Shādmān, and Badakhshān. After his death Tīmūr Sulṭān, his son, struck coins at Samarqand in his own name, and 'Ubayd Khān proclaimed himself Sulṭān in Bukhārā, and married Shaybak's widow. And Jānī Beg took the province of Karmanīya.

Now, one day before the victory in Khurāsān, Āghā Rustam Rūz Afzūn, the Ruler of Māzandarān, had said, 'My hand is on the skirt of Shaybak Khān.' So, when the Shāh killed Shaybak Khān he commanded Darwish Muḥammad Yasāwal to take one hand of Shaybak Khān to Sārī, and throw it on the skirt of Āghā Rustam. And from this Rustam fell sick and died. And after him his son Āghā Muḥammad, with Mir 'Abdu'l-karīm<sup>(14)</sup> and Khwāja Muẓaffar Bitikchī, set out for the Shāh's camp, and reached the Court near Samnān and paid three thousand tūmāns to the Shāh by way of fine.

The Shekhu'l-Islām<sup>(15)</sup> of Herāt. He was the first of his age as a Commentator, and in the Traditions and Jurisprudence, and was Shekhu'l-Islām for nigh thirty years in Khurāsān in the days of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā. He was put to death, by the Shāh's command, as a Sunnī, in the month of Ramaẓān.

#### A.H. 917.

Then the Shāh marched from Herāt to the country of Transoxiana. And, when he reached Maymana and Fāryāb, envoys came with tribute to the Royal camp from 'Ubayd Khān and Tīmūr Sulṭān, bringing humble petition, and saying, that Transoxiana was even as a part of the Royal Empire; what need was there to conquer it? So the Shāh accepted their petition. And he granted Balkh and Shiburghān and Andikhūy<sup>(1)</sup> to Bayrām Beg Qarāmānlū, and returned towards 'Irāq, and wintered at Qum. And in the spring he be-thought him of hunting. And game was found at Rāsifjān under Sāwa, and about four and twenty thousand beasts were numbered.

Thence he went to the summer quarters of Bīsh Barmāq,<sup>(2)</sup> and from thence to Sūrluq.

*Events in Turkey.*

This year Shāh Qulī Bābā Takalū set out from Mantashā<sup>(3)</sup> and Karmiyān,<sup>(4)</sup> which is also called Taka Īlī, with a company of Šūfis for the Court of the Shāh in Ādarbāyjān. But the Governor of Taka Īlī was an officer of the Sultān; wherefore he came against the Šūfis with four thousand horse. And Shāh Qulī Bābā met the Turks with his Ghāzīs, and a battle was fought. And the men of Guidance overthrew the companions of Error, and slew their leader. And many Turks were taken captive, and Shāh Qulī Bābā killed them all. And when tidings of his victory reached the disciples of his family, they armed themselves, and joined him, and thought to conquer Qarāmān,<sup>(5)</sup> and camped in those coasts. At that time Qarā Guz Pāshā was Governor on behalf of the Sultān. And he got ready his men, and set his heart on war. And when the two met, many were slain on both sides, but the breeze of victory blew upon Bābā. So Qarā Gūz fled, and the Šūfis pursued after him, and captured his goods, and marched upon Sīvās. Then Sultān Bāyazīd, when he heard of this defeat, sent the Grand Wazīr Khādim ‘Alī Pāshā,<sup>(6)</sup> with fifty thousand horse. And the Pāshā marched against the Šūfis. So Shāh Qulī Bābā made ready his army, and placed in the front a thousand Abyssinian slaves. And the Turks attacked those foot soldiers in front of the Ghāzīs’ army and killed about five hundred men; and the remnant joined the centre. Then Bābā drew in his flanks to the centre, and fell upon ‘Alī Pāshā, and to him was the victory; and ‘Alī Pāshā was overthrown and fled. And the Takalūs pursued, and killed ‘Alī Pāshā and an army of Turks. But Bābā, too tasted of death, and became a martyr. So the Šūfis appointed his successor, and set out for Arzinjān. And there they found five hundred merchants from Tabrīz, bound for Turkey with stores of merchandise. And greed overcame the Šūfis, and they fell upon these poor men, and slew them all; and, taking their goods, set out for the Persian Court. Now at that time the Shāh was at Ray, having returned from Khurāsān. And His Majesty received them. But he put their chiefs to death,<sup>(7)</sup> forasmuch as they had slain the merchants; and the others he gave to his nobles to serve them.

*The war of Bābur Pādshāh with Ḥamza Sultān and  
Mahdī Sultān Uzbek.*

Now this year Bābur Pādshāh marched<sup>(8)</sup> on Ḥiṣār Shādmān, and Badakhshān, and Qunduz, and Baghlān. Ḥamza Sultān and Mahdī Sultān, the Governors of that country, gathered together the armies of Tūkhāristān, and hastened against him. And they met where the two countries join. And Bābur attacked, and Ḥamza and Mahdī were slain; and Bābur abode in Badakhshān in all pomp. And he sent envoys to the Shāh, saying that, if His Majesty would send help, Samarqand and Bukhārā would be taken, and coins struck and the Khuṭba said in his name. So the Shāh sent Aḥmad Beg Ṣūfī Ūghalī and Shāhrukh Beg Afshār with a body of Ghāzīs to help Bābur. Then Bābur set out against the Uzbeks. And when Tīmūr Sultān and 'Ubayd Khān heard of this, they hastened to Turkistān. And Bābur and the Ghāzīs stayed at Samarqand, and recited the Khuṭba in the name of the Shāh, and stamped the coins with the names of the Twelve Imāms, and by the Shāh's command sent Khān Mīrzā to rule over Badakhshān. And he sent Aḥmad Beg Ṣūfī Ūghalī to Court with presents. But he was negligent in the matter of supporting Muḥammad Jān Āghā, the Īshīq Āghāsī of Najm Beg, who had gone to Samarqand. So Muḥammad Jān, when he reached the Royal Court at Qum, reported that Bābur was minded to be rebellious. And the Shāh took thought what he should do against Bābur. And Najm-i-ḡānī, the Wakīl, planned that the Shāh should send him to Transoxiana. And the Shāh consented thereto, and commanded that Zaynu'l-Ābidī Beg Ṣafawī, Pīrī Beg Qājār, and Bādinjān Rūmlū, should go with Najm-i-ḡānī to Transoxiana. And Amīr Najm set out to gain his object with surpassing pomp and pride.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year Amīr Sayyid Sharīf of Shīrāz set out for Arabian 'Irāq. Early in the month Zī'l-Hijja the Shāh gave the Ṣadārat to Amīr Abdu'l-bāqī of Yazd, who was of the family of Ni'matullāh Kirmānī. Mawlānā Faṣīḥu'd-dīn died. He was a wondrous player of chess, playing with high and low, sitting together, or at a distance. Among his poems is a qasida of lament for Amīr 'Alī Shīr.

*Deaths.*

Shāh Qulī Bābā<sup>(9)</sup> Takalū was the son of Ḥasan Khalīfa. Twice Ḥasan Khalīfa came to see Sulṭān Ḥaydar, who sent him with forty men to the place of fasting, and with each of them a jug of water and a loaf, to be their sustenance for forty days. And when the time was over, they came out. And all had consumed their portions, save only Ḥasan Khalīfa, who brought his portion back to the Saint. Then the preceptor gave him leave to go, and sent him to Taka Īlī. And when he came there he abode at his own place. And Pīra Sinān, one of Sulṭān Ḥaydar's Ṣūfīs, spoke to those who were met together, saying:—'Ḥasan Khalīfa has come. Nay, he has brought to Taka Īlī a living fire.' And God Almighty gave Shāh Qulī Bābā to Ḥasan Khalīfa. And in the winter he would abide with the Taka Īlī tribe, but in the summer among the men of Takar Mishlū. And marvels are told of him, and men followed him. And he rose up in Turkey, as has been written.

*A.H. 918. The war<sup>(1)</sup> of Bābur Pādshāh with 'Ubayd Khān  
and Jānī Beg Sulṭān Uzbek.*

This year 'Ubayd Khān, and Tīmūr Sulṭān, and Jānī Beg<sup>(2)</sup> Sulṭān, marched with many men, on Bukhārā. And their advance guard plundered the outskirts of that city. And, when Bābur heard of this, he set out against the Uzbeks with a few men. Now Muḥammad Mazīd Tarkhān held it unwise to go near the enemy without equipment. But Bābur heeded him not, and set out. And, when he was near to Bukhārā, he heard that the Uzbeks had moved back some stages. And thereby he was heartened and he followed them for two or three marches. Then 'Ubayd and Tīmūr, appointing capable men over the wings of their army, and casting all cowardice from out their hearts, appeared in the plain. Then Muḥammad Bābur made ready his army. And the two armies stepped into the field of battle, and the battle began. And the Chaghatāy<sup>(3)</sup> men got the victory, and they took captive Urūs Beg, and Kupuk Beg, and Khwāja Aḥmad Qunqurāt, and a number of Uzbeks, and bore them before Bābur Pādshāh, by whose order they were put to death. So the Uzbek army fled, and the Chaghatāys pursued after them. But when they fled, lo! 'Ubayd Khān was hidden in a cave with two hundred men, waiting for an occasion. And, when Bābur saw no Uzbeks on the

field of battle, he sent his men after them, and five hundred only remained with him. Then 'Ubayd Khān came from out of that secret place like lightning with his two hundred warriors, and fell upon the Chaghatāy army. On that day Biyāqū Bahādur, the Lion of Battle, overthrew twenty horsemen. And Bābur, when he thought to see the face of victory, was overthrown, and fled towards Bukhārā. And 'Ubayd Khān in his guile took down his own standard and set up that of Bābur, so that those who returned from pursuing after the Uzbeks might think it was their own King's. And, when they came nigh, the Uzbeks slew them; and by this guile five hundred men were slain. And Bābur Pādshāh went from Bukhārā to Samarqand, and from thence, taking his family, he went to Ḥiṣār Shādmān. And 'Ubayd Khān and Jānī Beg went each to his own place. And in the first month of Jumādā together they went to Ḥiṣār Shādmān. But Bābur, Khān Mirzā helping him, made the fort strong, and sent a man to Balkh to ask for succour. So Bayrām Qarāmānī sent Amīr Muḥammad<sup>(4)</sup> of Shīrāz with a force of Ghāzīs to help him. And the Uzbek Sultāns, when they heard of the coming of the Ghāzīs, repented and returned.

*The war of 'Ubayd Khān and Najm Beg.*

Now, when Najm Beg heard of this, he set his heart on driving back the Uzbeks, and came to the confines of Khurāsān with twelve thousand horse. And Ḥusayn Beg Lala, the Governor of Herāt, joined him with a brave army, and together they two advanced on Transoxiana. And at Balkh Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī made a feast for them; and Amīr Najm remained outside Balkh about twenty days, and sent a body of Ghāzīs to the river to collect boats. Then a countless host crossed the Oxus. And Amīr Najm sent Amīr Muḥammad bin Amīr Yūsuf to Bābur, saying, that His Majesty should come quickly, so that he, Najm Beg, might do in the conquering of the country as Bābur thought fitting. So Amīr Muḥammad Yūsuf went to Ḥiṣār Shādmān, and made a feast. Thereafter Bābur went along with Amīr Muḥammad and his men to the camp. And Amīr Najm, when he heard of his coming, met him with his nobles at the village of Darband-i-Āhinīn.<sup>(5)</sup> And when the Uzbek chiefs heard of the crossing of Najm Beg, they brought grain into the fort,<sup>(6)</sup> and made strong its ramparts and towers. And Amīr Najm advanced against it,



and the Governor, Fūlād Sultān, made peace and came out. But he and the Uzbek soldiers of the fort were put to death at the command of Amīr Najm. And from thence the Persians marched towards Qarshī, and Shekham Mīrzā,<sup>(7)</sup> the Governor of that fort, strengthened it. And the Ghāzīs surrounded Qarshī, and having damaged the walls, poured into the city. And Shekham Mīrzā fell a prey to fate, and it was ordered that there should be a general massacre, in which about fifteen thousand persons both young and old, and small and great, were slain. And the Sayyids of the place took refuge in the Great Mosque, and sent a man to Amīr Muḥammad Yūsuf, saying, that they were of the house of 'Alī, the Friend of the Qizilbāshes. Let him tell Amīr Najm of their case, and make their wives and children safe from the slaughter. So Amīr Muḥammad went to Amīr Najm, and asked for their lives. But that evil man answered that in the countries they took in war the Ghāzīs slaughtered all, neither did they care if a man were a Sayyid or not. So the Qizilbāshes entered the mosque, and slew all the Sayyids along with their wives and their children.

Then the Persians, with Bābur and the loyal chiefs, turned to Bukhārā; for 'Ubayd Khān and Jānī Beg were there. And two leagues from Bukhārā Amīr Najm heard that Tīmūr Sultān and Abū Sa'īd Sultān, the son of Kūchum Khān, had left Samarqand with a large army. And he sent Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī against them. And the Uzbeks prepared for siege in the fort of Ghujduwān,<sup>(8)</sup> and Amīr Najm came to the fort, and besieged them. Tīmūr Sultān and Abū Sa'īd sent men out to fight, but they were forced to flee back to the fort. Daily from morn till eve they fought. But after some days Najm Beg's stores grew less, and Bābur was instant that they should go back and winter at Qarshī, till stores came from Balkh; when winter ended, and the Uzbek stores ran short, they should again attack their forts and lands. But Najm Beg hearkened not, saying that on the morrow they would have a royal fight. On Sunday, the third of the month Ramaḡān, an Uzbek vanguard appeared among the trees of Ghujduwān. For, when 'Ubayd Khān and Jānī Beg at Bukhārā heard that Amīr Najm could get no victory outside Ghujduwān, they set out rapidly with many warriors, both foot and horse. And at Ghujduwān Abū Sa'īd and Tīmūr Sultān who were in the fort joined them. Now the Qizilbāsh chiefs, being at

variance with Amīr Najm, had marched for Khurāsān; and Najm Beg and Bayrām Beg went to meet the Uzbeks with but a few men. And a force of 'Ubayd Khān's men attacked their right wing. Bayrām Khān Qarāmānī hastened to meet them, but he was shot and fell. So the Uzbeks broke Najm Beg's army, and took him captive, and bore him before 'Ubayd Khān; and he was killed by the Khān's order. And in their flight many Ghāzīs were drowned in the Oxus. But Bābur set out for Ḥiṣār Shādmān.<sup>(9)</sup>

And, when the Uzbek Sultāns found themselves possessed of equipment and numbers, they thought to conquer Khurāsān. First, Jānī Beg crossed the Oxus, and moved on Herāt and camped at Ulang-i-Kahadstān. Ḥusayn Beg Lala and Aḥmad Beg Ṣūfī Ūghalī, who had hardly saved themselves from the battle field of Ghujduwān, strengthened the fortification of Herāt. Aḥmad defended the fort of Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn,<sup>(10)</sup> and Ḥusayn Beg Lala the tower of Mīrzā Sultān Aḥmad. Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Muḥammad held the Malik Gate. Amīr 'Imādu'd-dīn Maḥmūd set up his standard at the Fīrūzābād Gate. And twice Jānī Beg's men approached the moat by way of the White Garden, but they were driven back. And three or four times they attacked from the side of the Fīrūzābād Gate, but they were overthrown by Amīr 'Imādu'd-dīn Maḥmūd's men. But in one of the fights Bābā 'Ishqī Tabarāī fell into the hands of the Uzbeks, and was killed. At that time 'Ubayd Khān appeared outside Herāt, and camped at the village of Sāq-i-Salmān. Sometimes his men got to the barricades and fought; but they could not prevail. For the space of two months these two misguided Sultāns abode outside Herāt, and, because the rain harvest had failed this year, the men of the city were sore pressed.

*The sending by the Shāh of Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa<sup>(11)</sup> Rūmlū to Turkey, and the spoiling of that land.*

This year, when the Shāh heard of the rebellions in Turkey, he sent Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū to that land to gather together the faithful Ṣūfis. When Khalīfa reached Qarā Ḥiṣār,<sup>(12)</sup> the disciples of that land, being three or four thousand horsemen with their families, joined him. Strengthened by them he moved towards Malaṭīya. When the Sultān's Governor, Fāīq Beg, heard of this he hastened with three thousand horse to do battle with him. They met at Tuqāt,<sup>(13)</sup>

and the victory was to Khalīfa. And the Turks fled, and much booty fell into the hands of the Ghāzīs and Ṣūfis. The men of the city were received, and the Khuṭba was recited in the name of the Shāh. So Khalīfa did them no harm; and he went to Adīna Bāzārī, and crossed from there to Qāz Chāyirī. Then Sultān Murād<sup>(14)</sup> bin Sultān Bāyazīd, fleeing from Sultān Salīm, joined him, and they two went to Tūqāt. This time the men of the city withstood them, and the Ghāzīs burnt the city, and turned to Nīk Shahr. Sultān Murād, having parted from Khalīfa, betook himself to the Shāh's Court. And Khalīfa sent a body of Ghāzīs to plunder the men of Shekh Khunuslū. And this they did, and rejoined Khalīfa's camp with goods galore and conquests more. Then Khalīfa turned towards Arzinjān. And when the Ghāzī chief arrived at the village Ayūyāzī, he heard that Sinān Pāshā, Ḥusayn Beg, and Tāju'd-dīn Beg, with fifteen thousand horse, had followed his army. Therefore he turned back, and drew up over against them, making a force of warriors his advance guard. The Turkish leaders, ascending rising ground and arraying their forces, opposed him. And they overcame the advance guard, and reached the centre. With a chosen body Khalīfa attacked. When Sinān Pāshā beheld the prowess of the Qizilbāshes, he was affrighted; and in the evening he fled, pursued by the Ghāzīs, who slew him and fifteen hundred of his men. Moreover in their flight the Turks reached a dry river, and a large mound fell on them, swallowing up fifteen hundred souls. After this victory Khalīfa sent the Turkish heads and much booty by trusty men to the Shāh's Court and camped at Arzinjān, which was his fief.

#### *Deaths.*

This year Sultān Bāyazīd bin Sultān Muḥammad bin Sultān Murād bin Sultān Muḥammad bin İldarim Bāyazīd bin Sultān Murād bin Ūrkhān bin 'Uṣmān bin Arṭughrāl died. For a company of Janissaries joined together, and brought his son Salīm, who was Governor of Trebizond, to Constantinople, and set him on the throne. and deposed Bāyazīd, who sickened in grief for this, and died. Jāmī adorned his 'Chain of Gold'<sup>(15)</sup> with his name, and praised him in these words:—

Would that Nawshīrwān were now alive;  
That his justice had even been greater.

Then would he have been ashamed,  
 And proclaimed himself the Sultān's slave.  
 Bāyazīd Īldarim, Lord of the Earth,  
 Spreader of Honour, Pride of his Realm.

And in his reign many defeats fell on the Turks, especially from the army of Egypt. His reign was of thirty-two years. After his death his son Sultān Aḥmad had the Khuṭba read in his name in Anatolia. But Sultān Salīm had letters written by his Pāshās, saying, that if Aḥmad came to Constantinople with a few of his men they would serve him, and seize Sultān Salīm, and make him king. So that simple man left his son Sultān Murād with his army, and set out for Constantinople with five hundred horsemen. And Sultān Salīm met him with a large force; and sent an army against Sultān Murād, who was overthrown, and took refuge with the Shāh, in whose camp he died a natural death.

This year, too, Amīr Zakariyya, who had been for years Wazīr of the White Sheep Turkmāns and of the Shāh, died in Khurāsān.

Amīr Yār Aḥmad of Iṣfahān, entitled Najm-i-ṣānī, was independent Wazīr. Daily up to one hundred sheep were used in his kitchen, and food was cooked in thirteen pots of pure silver. He was killed by 'Ubayd Khān's order.

Mawlānā Bannāī,<sup>(16)</sup> whose name was Shīr 'Alī, was versed in Music and in Ṣūfism. In the days of Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, being offended by Amīr 'Alī Shīr he went to Ādarbāyjan to Sultān Yā'qūb. Thereafter he returned to Khurāsān. But, angered again, he set out for Samarqand, and served Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā bin Sultān Aḥmad bin Sultān Abū Sa'īd. He satirized the men of Herāt. When Shaybak Khān conquered Samarqand he imprisoned Bannāī. And, after the death of Shaybak Khān, he served his son Tīmūr Sultān. And he was slain at Qarshī in the massacre commanded by Amīr Najm-i-ṣānī. Late in his life he made a study of the Dīwān of Khwājā Ḥāfiz of Shīrāz, and his pen name was Ḥālī.

*A.H. 919. The coming of the Uzbek Khāns to Khurāsān, and sending of Khalīl Sultān Zu'l-Qadar by the Shāh, and the flight of the Uzbeks to Bukhārā; second visit of the Shāh to Khurāsān.*

This year on the third day of Muḥarram, and the first of the New Year feast, a quarrel befell between 'Ubayd Khān and Jānī Beg, and

they departed from outside Herāt to their own country. And Jānī Beg crossed the Oxus to Karmaniya.<sup>(1)</sup> But in those days Timūr Sulṭān coming to this side of the river, joined 'Ubayd Khān in the coasts of Murghāb, and forbad him to go to Bukhārā. And they came to Mashhad, and brought into subjection as far as Isfarāin. And when the news of it reached Herāt, Ḥusayn Beg Lala and Aḥmad Beg Ṣūfi Ūghalī left the city, and took the road by Ṭabas to 'Irāq and Ādarbāyjan. Then Timūr Sulṭān, marching rapidly, reached Herāt, and camped in the Garden of Desire, and put to death many Shī'as, and set his heart on ruling Khurāsān. But when this reached the Shāh, he set out for Khurāsān from the city of Iṣfahān, with a large army, against the Uzbeks. From Kālpūsh<sup>(2)</sup> summer quarters Khalīl Sulṭān Zu'l-Qadar was sent towards Mashhad. And when he was yet a league off, 'Ubayd Khān set out for Bukhārā, and Timūr Sulṭān also fled towards Samarqand. So that, while the Shāh was still at Kālpūsh, no Uzbek was left in Khurāsān. And after Timūr Sulṭān fled, Abū'l-Qāsim Bakhshī, a well wisher of the Uzbek Sulṭāns, gathered together two thousand horse, and came from Bādghīs to Herāt; and the citizens withstood him. And while they fought Pīrī Sulṭān Rūmlū, in advance of the Royal army, came on the field with a body of Ghāzīs, and killed about three hundred ill-omened Uzbeks. And Abū'l-Qāsim fled towards Gharjistān. Then the Shāh came from Khabushān<sup>(3)</sup> to Ulang-i-Rādkān, and took Dada Beg, Governor of Marv, who had left Marv in fear of the Uzbeks and fled, and cut off his beard, and put a kerchief on his head, and painted and powdered his face, and mounted him backwards on an ass, and paraded him through the camp, that others might be warned. Then the Royal camp moved towards Bādghīs. And there it was seen how the men of the country had wronged the Ghāzīs who fled from Najm Beg's battle, and had killed some. So a massacre was commanded, and Chōha Sulṭān Takalū and a body of Ghāzīs were sent to slay those fools; and of them great and small were slain. And the Shāh passed that summer at Ulang-i-Bābā Khākī and he sent Dīv Sulṭān to rule over Balkh. Now the men of Andikhūd had made a heretic man, named Qarā Buqāl, their Governor, and they resisted. So Dīv Sulṭān killed them, and sent Qarā Buqāl to the court. Also at this time Shāhrukh Beg Afshār,<sup>(4)</sup> by the Shāh's order making an expedition to Qandahār, plundered that country, and returned safe and with booty

to Court. And when the affairs of Khurāsān were thus arranged as the Shāh desired, he gave the governorship of Herāt to Zaynal Khān Shāmlū, and returned from Bābā Khākī to Iṣfahān and passed the winter in that city.

*Sulṭān Sulaymān<sup>(5)</sup> bin Sulṭān Ḥaydar's rebellion against the Shāh.*

This winter Sayyid Sulaymān bin Sulṭān Ḥaydar showed himself rebellious. And much people gathered together, saying that the Shāh had gone to Khurāsān and was afar off; and seizing this occasion, Tabrīz should be taken. Sayyid Sulaymān, being beguiled by these fools, and having acquired the means of rebellion, marched quickly on Ta rīz with a number of seditious persons. And when the Governor heard of this he strengthened the ways along with the citizens, and let water run in the roads, so that it froze and horsemen could hardly pass. Then Sulaymān entered the Avenue with a host of men, but the Tabrīzīs pierced the walls of the Avenue and fired on those unfortunates and overthrew them. So Sulaymān, in mighty chagrin, set out for Āb-i-Shūr. And the rabble came up with them at Shumb-i-Ghāzān,<sup>(6)</sup> and the Sulaymāniyyas, too, made ready for battle; but the Tabrīzī cutthroats plied their swords and unhorsed Sulaymān. But, still, he wounded sixteen men. Then Mantashā Sulṭān Ustājilū, who was a qūrchī, got to him, and slew him with his sword.

This year Mawlānā Sulṭān 'Alī died—a greater penman than any ancient or modern writer, greater even than Khwāja Mīr 'Alī. Mawlānā Ja'far and Mawlānā Aẓhar cannot compare with him. Of old it was Ṭahmuraṣ<sup>(7)</sup> who invented writing. And the kinds of writing<sup>(8)</sup> are these:—Hebrew, Barbar, Andalusian, Ṣayfī, Coptic, Greek, Himyarī, Syrian, Turkish, Kufic, Ma'qilī, Hindī, Persian. Ibn Muqla<sup>(9)</sup> was the inventor of Naskh and Ṣulṣ; when they cut off his hand, as is written in the sixth volume,<sup>(10)</sup> he taught his daughter. After this 'Alī bin Bawwāb<sup>(11)</sup> made Muḥaqqaq and Rayhān writing, and wrote inscriptions. Then came Yāqūt,<sup>(12)</sup> the slave of Musta'ṣim, the 'Abbāsī Khalīfa; his life, too, is written in the seventh volume. His pupils are called 'the Six Professors.' Shekhzāda Suhrawardī<sup>(13)</sup> lived in Baghdād. Arghūn<sup>(14)</sup> was born in Persian 'Irāq, but lived in Baghdād. Then there was Pīr Muḥammad Ṣūfī; and Mubārak Shāh of the 'Golden Pen', who was in the service of Sulṭān Uways; and Naṣrullāh the Doctor, who served Sulṭān Aḥmad

Jalā'ir; and Yūsuf of Mashhad, the pupil of Yāqūt, who lived at Tabriz. And Širafī was one of his pupils; and Ḥājī Muḥammad<sup>(15)</sup> 'Band dūz' was Širafī's pupil. 'Abdullāh the Physician lived in Khurāsān; and 'Abdu'l-ḥaqq of Sabzawār was his pupil. Mīr 'Alī<sup>(16)</sup> of Tabriz began Nasta'liq writing. Mawlānā 'Abdullāh, son of Mawlānā Sulṭān 'Alī, was a pupil of Mawlānā Ja'far<sup>(19)</sup> and a famous penman. Mawlānā Aẓhar was a rare expert. And Sulṭān Namad Khandān was a fine writer; and so were Sulṭān Muḥammad Abrīshamī, and Zaynu'd-dīn Maḥmūd, in 'Irāq and Khurāsān. Mawlānā Mīr 'Alī<sup>(17)</sup> excelled all former calligraphists. In the days of his youth he copied writing with Zaynu'd-dīn Maḥmūd. And when he reached perfection he oft-times contended with Mawlānā Sulṭān 'Alī<sup>(18)</sup>. Men took the side of the Mullah. One day he came to the Mawlānā, and took three pieces; and, having made a copy, put the copies among the Mawlānā's pieces. The Mawlānā marvelled, nor could he tell which was his own; but, after much thought, took up the Mullah Mīr 'Alī's. Mawlānā Mīr 'Alī, at the end of his life, went to Bukhārā, and was cherished by 'Abdu'l-'azīz Sulṭān, son of 'Ubayd Khān. And there he died. Among the pupils of the Mawlānā was Khwāja Maḥmūd Siāwushānī. But Mawlānā Mīr 'Alī, being angered with him, wrote a satire against him.

Amīr Sayyid Aḥmad of Mashhad is a pupil of Mawlānā Mīr 'Alī. Among other calligraphists are Qāsim Shādī Shāh, Mawlānā 'Abdī of Nayshāpūr, Mawlānā Shāh Maḥmūd, Mawlānā Dūst of Herāt, Mawlānā Rustam 'Alī, sister's son to Ustād Bihzād, Ḥāfiẓ Bābā Jān of Turbat. And Mawlānā Malik of Qazwīn was the chief of calligraphists in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's time; he wrote all scripts well. He was in science the pupil of Mawlānā Jamālu'd-dīn Maḥmūd of Shīrāz. The humble writer of this chronicle read notes on the Shamsiyya with him.

This year Amīr Ismā'il of Shumb-i-Ghāzān died. He studied with Mawlānā 'Alī Qūshchī. And, after the Mawlānā went to Turkey, he went to Shīrāz, and attended the lectures of the great Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad. He lived sixty-nine years, and amongst his works is a note on stones in rings.

*The birth of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.*

The twenty-sixth day of the month Zi'l-ḥijja, on Wednesday, Ṭahmāsp was born in the village of Shāhābād under Iṣfahān. The

Chiefs and Ministers brought presents, and there were feasts for several days.<sup>(17)</sup>

*A.H. 920. The war<sup>(1)</sup> of the Shāh with Sulṭān Salīm.*

Now this was the cause of the quarrel: When Khān Muḥammad Ustājīlū conquered Diyārbakr, and oft-times broke the Zu'l-Qadar army with but few men, and his officer Dalv Durāq, with seventy horse and three hundred foot, overcame Sulṭān Qānṣū King of Egypt—a monarch famed for bravery—his pride passed all bounds, and he wrote threatening letters to Sulṭān Salīm, and provoked him to battle. Moreover he sent him things, such as a woman's head dress. And another cause was the ruin wrought by Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū, and his burning of Tūqāt. So the Sulṭān set his heart on war, and he gathered together men from Qarāmān, Anatolia, Mantashā, Karmiyān Īlī, Kaffa, Trebizond, Semendra, Wallachia, Bosnia, Morea, and Serbia, and collected a great host of warriors, and relentless arms beyond what the imagination can picture, or the pen describe. So two hundred thousand horse and foot marched on Arzinjān, and a messenger was sent to the Shāh's Court to declare war. The courier reached the Shāh at Hamadān, and told of the Sulṭān's making war. And His Majesty answered, saying that he too was ready for war, and stood firm wheresoever they might meet. And he let the envoy go, and sent a man to Diyārbakr to call Khān Muḥammad Ustājīlū with the Diyārbakr troops with all speed. And His Majesty and his warriors turned to battle. And when they reached Tabriz news came that Sulṭān Salīm, fearing nought, was marching towards them. So the Shāh turned against the foe, and in the beginning<sup>(2)</sup> of the month Rajab the two armies met at Chāldirān, which is twenty leagues from Tabriz. And the way of the Turkish Sulṭāns is this, that at the time of battle they strengthen their army with guns and chains, making thus a strong fortress to protect themselves. And within it the gunmen fire guns and cannon and muskets, and over the cannon in the form of a dragon they place big and small mortars. And they have such skill and power in firing their guns that they can hit the indivisible atom a mile away. Khān Muḥammad Ustājīlū and Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū, and certain men who knew the ways of the Turks, were instant that they should attack above Chāldirān before the enemy could protect himself. But Dürmish Khān Shāmlū rejected their counsel,



and said to Khān Muḥammad, "Thy overlordship is in Diyārbakr"; and he said that they should wait till they showed what they could do, and then should they enter the field, and destroy them. And the Shāh approved his words. And Sulṭān Salīm came down from the heights of Chāldirān, and strengthened his army, and made a barrier of guns and chains. And he appointed twelve thousand Janissaries to stand before the line, and entrusted the right and left wings to famous Pāshās—Sinān Pāshā, Muṣṭafā Pāshā (known as Bighlū Chāūsh), Farhād Pāshā, Qarācha Pāshā Zu'l-Qadar Ūghalī, and 'Alī Beg, the son of Shāhsuwār Beg. And he put Māl Ghūch Ūghalī in the advance guard, and made Mahāl Ūghalī leader of the flank, and sent more than a hundred thousand paid horsemen into the field.

And the Shāh mounted his horse, and chose his ground with his famous Chiefs—Dürmish Khān Shāmlū, Khalīl Sulṭān Zu'l-Qadar, Ḥusayn Beg Lala, Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū, Khulafā Beg, Khān Muḥammad and Chāyān Sulṭān Ustājlū with the army of Diyārbakr. And it was settled that Amīr 'Abdu'l-bāqī, Sayyid Muḥammad Kamūna, and Amīr Sayyid Sharīf, should take the centre. And they made Sārū Pīra Qūrchibāshī, with his Ghāzīs, the advance guard; and His Majesty, with a party of qūrchīs, waited in reserve, thinking to join whosoever might be pressed. And the Qizilbāsh army drew up over against the Turks. Then Sārū Pīra, with the advanced force charged the Turks, and bore down their forward men and drove them on the flanks, till Mahāl Ūghalī, their leader, charged and turned the Persians back. And the Shāh's anger kindled as he beheld the prowess of the Turks, and he charged with his braves. Now Māl Ghūch Ūghalī came over against His Majesty, and opened his mouth to boast. But before his hand could ply arrow, or bow, or sword, or spear, the Shāh smote him with his sword, so that he cleft helmet and head down to the neck. And the enemy never had seen such might, and fear got hold of them, and they fled to their centre. And the Qizilbāsh right charged the Turkish left, where was the brave Sinān Pāshā; and they drove them from the heights of Chāldirān, so that the day became black for Sulṭān Salīm. But the Turkish army charged again, and overthrew the Qizilbāsh left, and threw the centre into disorder. And the Shāh and his advance guard, too, were turned back by musketry. His Majesty made rivers of blood to flow,

even as the Jaxartes and the Oxus; and the Ghāzīs that day charged up to the guns. But the Janissaries drove them back with their guns and musket fire. And about a thousand Janissaries were on a height hard by the Qizilbāsh army; they, too, drove back the Ghāzīs with their muskets.

And all that morning, from dawn to noon, the battle raged. Seven times His Majesty reached the guns, and beat against the chains. But the foe turned him back, and gathered around His Majesty, and surrounded him, though, wheresoever he attacked, he left a heap of dead. And Mantashā Sulṭān Ustājlı and all the qürchīs fought notably. And the Shāh commanded the bugle to be blown, and three hundred horsemen gathered around him. So they ceased to attack, and reached the companies that had broken the centre, and broke their ranks and sallied forth. At that time His Majesty's horse fell into the black water, and Khizr Āghā Ustājlı brought his horse, and the Shāh mounted and set forth. Then the Turkish army caught Sulṭān 'Alī Mirzā Afshār, and thought that he was the Shāh, and took him to Sulṭān Salīm. And they slew him, when they found he was another. Then the Qizilbāsh right, which had broken the Turkish left, and gone behind them, returned and bravely attacked the centre of Sulṭān Salīm, and left the field. And Sulṭān Salīm commanded that his men should not pursue, nor plunder; for it might be a feigned flight. And the night was at hand when they found that none remained of the Qizilbāsh host.

In this battle died Khān Muḥammad Ustājlı, Sārū Pīra Qürchī-bāshī, Ḥusayn Beg Lala, Amīr 'Abdu'l-bāqī, Sayyid Muḥammad Kamūna, and Amīr Sayyid Sharīf; and, on both sides, five thousand men, three thousand being of the Turks. And the Shāh marched<sup>(3)</sup> to Darjuzīn; and Sulṭān Salīm to Tabrīz, where the leaders of the city met him. And Sulṭān Salīm honoured them, and he saw with his own eyes what his fathers and forefathers had conceived to be impossible. Then, first, he went to the Mosque of Ḥasan Pādshāh in the square of Şahibābād, and prayed. It is said that where the King's name comes in the Khuṭba the Khaṭīb uttered Ismā'il's name. So the Turks desired to put him to death; but Sulṭān Salīm forbade them, saying that his tongue was accustomed to this. Pity it was, he said, that three Sayyids of high degree had been martyred in the battle of Chāldirān. And after eight days fear overcame him, and at the end

of the month he set off to go back to Turkey, and wintered at Amāsia. And, when the Shāh heard of this at Darjuzīn, he set out for Tabrīz; and in the month of Sha'bān he camped there, and made it his winter quarters.

*The war of Burūn Sultān and Khwāja Muẓaffar Bitikchī with  
Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā.*

This year Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, son of Badī'u'z-zamān, left the Shāh's camp and went to Astarābād. Pīr Ghayb Beg Tālīsh, the Governor, was overthrown, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān set himself up in Astarābād. Then Burūn Sultān Takalū, Governor of Isfarāīn, with Khwāja Muẓaffar Bitikchī, marched against him. Now, when Sultān Salīm came to Tabrīz, many reports were spread, and the Chiefs doubted. But when they reached the village of Khūzāshāh Qarā Uways Qūrchī Warsāq came from court, and brought news of Sultān Salīm's return. And the Chiefs were content, and set out for Jurjān, where they fought with and overcame Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, who left for Gharjīstān. And the Governor of that province joined him.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year there was a famine in Khurāsān, and, above all, in Herāt, so sore that men ate one another; and Zaynal Khān, the Governor, punished these eaters of men. In this year also the Shāh made Chāyān Sultān Ustājilū Amīru'l-umarā, and bestowed the superintendence of the state offices on Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn of Iṣfahān. And he gave the post of Ṣadarāt to 'Abdullāh Lala, a leader of the Ādarbāyjān Sayyids. But he could not do this work; therefore it was given to Amīr Jamālu'd-dīn Muḥammad of Astarābād. And Diyārbakr was given to Qarā Beg, brother of Khān Muḥammad; and he was made a Khān.

*Deaths.*

Sultān Murād bin Ya'qūb Pādshāh. When the Shāh set out for Baghdād Bārīk Purnāk took Murād away to Syria, and for some time he lived under the protection of Sultān Qānṣū. Thence he went to 'Alā'u'd-dawla Zu'l-Qadar, and married his daughter, from whom he had two sons, Ḥasan and Ya'qūb. And he joined Sultān Salīm, when the Sultān went to war with the Shāh, and desired to go with him to fight. But his officers thought it not meet, and he left the Sultān

and went towards Diyārbakr. But when he reached Adrafa Qarācha Sulṭān Qājār, the Shāh's Governor, notwithstanding the fewness of his men, and remembering the text 'how a great body was conquered by a few', stood against him, and prevailed and slew him, and sent his head and ring to the Royal Court. So Qarācha Sulṭān, who with eight hundred horsemen had defeated eight thousand, was called Qudūrmish Sulṭān. And the Sulṭāns of the White Sheep Turkmāns came to an end with the death of Sulṭān Murād. Thirteen men of the White Sheep were Kings, namely:—Qarā Ūṣmān, 'Alī Beg, Sulṭān Ḥamza, Jahāngīr Mīrzā (these four were rulers of Diyārbakr); Ḥasan Pādshāh, Sulṭān Khalīl, Ya'qūb Pādshāh, Bāysunqur Mīrzā, Rustam Beg, Aḥmad Beg, Muḥammadī Mīrzā, Alwand Mīrzā, Sulṭān Murād. Independently they reigned one hundred and one years. Besides this Bārik Purnāk was Governor of Arabian 'Irāq for five years and a little, and was with Sulṭān Salīm at the battle of Chāldīrān. And after that he had returned from Ādarbāyjān, he became blind, and soon after he died. The countries of the White Sheep Turkmān Sulṭāns were Arabian 'Irāq, Persian Irāq, Fārs, Kirmān, and Ādarbāyjān.

Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā<sup>(4)</sup> lived for a time in the Shāh's camp, and then by order he lived at Ray, and went, without asking leave, to Astarābād, and was defeated by Shaybak Khan's officers, and went to India, and lived in that country two years. And again in Khurāsān he came to the Shāh, and was honourably maintained; and it was ordered that he should live in Shumb-i-Ghāzān of Tabrīz. And every day a thousand dīnārs were given him for his expenses. The year that Sulṭān Salīm came to Tabrīz he dealt kindly with Badī'u'z-zamān, and took him with him. But after four months he died of plague.

Amīr 'Abdu'l-bāqī was of the family of Shah Nūru'd-dīn Nī'matullāh<sup>(5)</sup> of Kirmān. He was distinguished for his letters and style above his fellows. He was Ṣadr in the early days of the Shāh; but, later, His Majesty took independent control of all administrative matters. He was killed this year.

Malik Maḥmūd Jān of Daylam, one of the chief Qazwīn families, was for some time Wazīr of Ya'qub Pādshāh, and then of the Shāh. He died this year.

Khalīl Sulṭān Zu'l-Qadar.<sup>(6)</sup> He committed some fault in the Turkish war, and the Shāh appointed blind Sulaymān Qūrchī to put

an end to him. When blind Sulaymān came to Shīrāz, and saw many men with Khalīl, he spoke in his ear quietly, saying that the Shāh's command was that he should beat him with twelve strokes, and then return; if this were done at a public feast the honour of Khalīl would be broken. It would be better that they should go to a private place, so that he could carry out the Shāh's command and return to Court. So Khalīl Sultān came to his house; and blind Sulaymān went after him and showed him the order for his death, which he had brought. And Khalīl Sultān withstood him not, but fell on his knees. And blind Sulaymān smote him on the neck, and took his head, and left the house, and set out for the Court. And the Shāh gave the governorship of Shīrāz to 'Alī Beg Zu'l-Qadar.

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 Āmīr Sayyid Sharīf of Shīrāz was a grandson of Āmīr Sayyid Sharīf 'Allāma. He was Ṣadr of the Shāh for some time, and he strove to spread the true faith, and reduce those who followed the path of error. This year he was slain, as has been written.

*A.H. 921. Sultān Salīm's capture of the fort of Kamākh.<sup>(1)</sup>*

This year Sultān Salīm marched on the fort of Kamākh. And Yūsuf Beg Warsāq, Commandant of the fort on behalf of the Shāh, left there his officer Muḥammad Beg Warsāq with three hundred men and went to Court. Then Sultān Salīm camped with a great host near the fort, and sent messengers to the Ghāzīs saying that, putting their trust in his Royal favour, they should open the gates, and should live in his camp unharmed. But the Warsāq asked how they could think it right, because their lord had met with a small defeat, to forget their duty to him, and hand over, like traitors, the fort with which they had been trusted. So the messengers reported to Sultān Salīm what they had heard. And his anger was kindled, and he mounted his horse; and about a hundred thousand horsemen set out, till they came before the fort. And the Janissaries were commanded to fight; and the Turkish army assaulted; and a body of Janissaries came up a hill hard by the fort, and fired on the men of the citadel. The Warsāq Ghāzīs and warriors plied arrows and stones. But the Turks made the towers level with the ground, and captured the fort by force. Then the Ghāzīs took refuge in the mosque. And the Turks advanced against them, and the Warsāqs, drawing their swords,

came out of the mosque and fought, till all died like men. And Sulṭān Salīm entrusted the fort to his own men, and set forth against 'Alā'u'd-dawla Zū'l-Qadar.

*The war of Muṣṭafā Pāshā,<sup>(2)</sup> Bīghlū Chāūsh, with Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū.*

This year Muṣṭafā Pāshā, Governor of Trebizond on behalf of Sulṭān Salīm, advanced with a great army on Arzinjān. And when Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa knew of this, he raised his standard with Muḥammad Beg Ayqūt Ūghalī. And, near Chamishguzik,<sup>(3)</sup> Bīghlū Chāūsh with his forces appeared. Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa, with eight hundred horse, attacked the Turkish centre of more than ten thousand, and killed many. But in the end the Turks prevailed, and killed Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa. But Ayqūt Ūghalī escaped unhurt.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū came to court from Balkh, with a box full of spear heads taken from horses and men in conflicts with the Uzbeks, whom he had overthrown in all his battles. And he showed that Khurāsān had now no master. So the Shāh bestowed the rule over Khurāsān, from the confines of Samnān to the river Oxus, on Prince Ṭahmāsp. And he made Amīr Khān Turkmān<sup>(4)</sup> his guardian.

*Deaths.*

'Alā'u'd-dawla Zū'l-Qadar. His doings were founded on deceit and fraud. Whosoever the envoys of the Turkish Sulṭān came to him, he would dress his officers in Egyptian clothes, and bring them to the meeting. And he would say that they were ambassadors from Egypt, bringing many gifts. To the Turkish envoys he would say that they had done much harm. To the Turks he would pretend that he was the Turkish Sulṭān's man, and was tired of the Egyptians. And he behaved to the Egyptian Sulṭān's envoy in like manner. Thus he took much money from both sides, and was wont to say that he had two fowls—one that laid a golden egg, and the other a silver—meaning the Sulṭāns of Turkey and Egypt. This year Sulṭān Salīm, having a mind to fight the Shāh, gathered large stores in 'Alā'u'd-dawla's lands. And 'Alā'u'd-dawla, thinking them a free present to himself, plundered them. But he forgot that to play with an elephant's trunk, or scratch with a thorn the forehead of a snake, is

to bring on one's own destruction. He raised up the dust of trouble, as does a wind, and brought ruin on his own head. For, when Sulṭān Salīm heard of this robbery, leaving aside his plans on Ādar-bāyjan, he set forth for Mar'ash. And 'Alā'u'd-dawla, since he could not withstand him fled to Mount Durna. Then the Sulṭān sent Sinān Pāsha after him with forty thousand horse. The Turkish advance force came up with him in the hills. And 'Alā'u'd-dawla, with his son Sulaymān Beg, came out of ambush and attacked the Turks; but the Zu'l-Qadar men were overthrown, and some soldier killed 'Alā'u'd-dawla, and brought his head to Sinān Pāshā, and Sinān Pāshā sent it to the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān asked the man, who had cut off his head, what rank he desired. And the fool answered that he desired his master's rank. Now his master was a common man. So they made the master a Pāshā, and gave the master's rank to the man.

And Sulṭān Salīm conquered all the Zu'l-Qadar country. And some of the Zu'l-Qadar tribe took up the Sulṭān's service, and some went to the Shāh, and others to Sulṭān Qānsū. Thus the Zu'l-Qadar kings came to an end. In books of history we have found four<sup>(5)</sup> of them who ruled—Malik Aslān, Sulaymān, Naṣīru'd-dīn, 'Alā'u'd-dawla. Their country was Mar'ash and Albistān. And there were eighty thousand Zu'l-Qadar households.

Khwāja Āṣafī<sup>(6)</sup> son of Khwāja Ni'matullāh was a man of Quhistān, who for some time worked as Wazīr to Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd. On 16th Sha'bān he died.

Mawlānā Nizām Astārābādī's<sup>(7)</sup> lips were sealed in death this year. Among his works are Bilqīs and Sulaymān, and a dīwān of qaṣīdas.

Mawlānā Riyāzī<sup>(8)</sup> of Sāwa also died this year, aged more than eighty years; among his works is a history of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā.

#### *A.H. 922. The war of Bīghlū with Qarā Khān Ustājlū<sup>(1)</sup>*

Now when the Shāh gave the governorship of Diyārbakr to Qarā Khān, the Khān dwelt at Mārdīn, and entrusted his affairs to Aḥmad Chalabī. But Aḥmad Chalabī did not pay the Āmid revenues to Qarā Khān, and the Khān attacked him. So Aḥmad sent an envoy to Bīghlū Chāūsh asking him to come straightway. Then Bīghlū Chāūsh hastened; and, when he arrived, Aḥmad met him, and gave him the keys of the fort; and Bīghlū Chāūsh dwelt at Āmid.

Then Qarā Khān, with his warriors, marched against the town. And when he arrived there, the citizens had joined with the Turks and hastened out of the gate to shoot and ply their swords; nor did they let the Ghāzīs enter the fort. So the Khān, despairing of their siding with him, took the parts round about, and stopped supplies from going to the city. And Bighlū Chāūsh sent from the fort five thousand horse to fight. But Qarā Khān attacked them, and prevailed, so that not a man of them was unhurt, but the Khān slew them and went with victory to his own camp. And after some days news came that Bighlū Chāūsh had gathered together twenty-four thousand horse and foot, and had left Āmid. Therefore Qarā Khān left his camp, and went up against Bighlū Chāūsh's army, and arrayed his forces in Quruq-i-Sar-i-Mārdin.<sup>(2)</sup> And Qudūrmish Sultān too urged him, saying they should give the foes of the Şafawī House no longer respite, but destroy them with the sword. Howbeit at that time a qūrchī came from the Shāh with a command not to fight till help came. And all his men too were against haste. But the Khān chose the counsel of Qudūrmish. So next day he raised his standard, and arrayed his right and left wings. So also did Bighlū Chāūsh; moreover he stationed his guns before his army, and bound them with chains, and strengthened himself with camels. And first the Ghāzīs charged, and broke the foe's right and left, bearing them on to the centre. But the Turks, having no way of escape, were forced to fight. It is said that many of the Turks that day left their horses and trod on one another's shoulders. And from the heaps of slain horsemen could not pass, nor foot soldiers. So the Chiefs told the Pāshā that they were thrown into confusion, and the time to fight was past, and they should flee. But Bighlū Chāūsh hearkened not to their words, but heartened his men. And they charged again, and again were driven back on the centre by the Ghāzīs. And Bighlū Chāūsh turned from the field; but a musket, fired at a venture, killed the Khān, and the Ghāzīs lost heart and fled. And Bighlū Chāūsh sent a swift courier to Sultān Salīm and took Diyārbakr.

*The war<sup>(3)</sup> of Sultān Salīm with Sultān Qānşū of Egypt  
and Syria, and Qānşū's defeat.*

This year Sultān Qānşū marched from Egypt on Aleppo. And Khayr Beg, the Amīru'l-umarā of Aleppo, feared Sultān Qānşū, and



sent messengers to Sulṭān Salīm, saying that if the Sulṭān would come he would essay to conquer 'Arabistān, and would be a faithful servant all his days. And Sulṭān Salīm, having ordered the conquest of 'Arabistān, commanded the armies of his empire, from the borders of Europe to the Qizilbāsh country, to be gathered together at Amāsia with equipment and guns. And then he marched towards Aleppo. And Sulṭān Qānṣū also prepared for war with a great army, and camped at the Shrine of David<sup>(4)</sup>—on whom be peace. Then Sulṭān Salīm came up to the encampment of his enemy. And he sent in front a body to protect the army; so also scouts went from the hosts of the King of Egypt to watch.

Now when it was morning Sulṭān Salīm arrayed his men, and sent Qarācha Pāshā Qarāmānī<sup>(5)</sup> to the right, and Sinān Pāshā Zu'l-Qadar and 'Alī Beg, son of Shāhsuwār, to the left; and arrayed his line with guns and gun carriages. And Janissaries stood in five lines behind one another, and before the gun carriages. And Sulṭān Qānṣū also arrayed his lines, and he appointed Khayr Beg to the left, and Jān Virdī Ghazālī, Governor of Emessa and Ḥamā, to the right; and himself stood in the centre. Thus these two warrior Kings stood over against one another. Then about a hundred men came up a height hard by to see the army of Salīm, and Qarācha Pāshā sent five or six guns against them, whereby four were killed and the rest fled. And Jān Virdī Ghazālī, with a company of Arab braves, attacked the Turkish right, and Qarācha Pāshā hastened to withstand them. And, shaken by the might of the Egyptians, the Turkish left was broken, and the Egyptians came behind Sulṭān Salīm's centre. And they cast from their horses about five or six thousand men, who went on foot to Sulṭān Salīm's centre. Again, Jān Virdī Ghazālī came from behind the left wing, and overthrew three thousand horsemen; and the Turks fled till they came before the Sulṭān. And the Egyptian slaves, pursuing after them, came over against the Sulṭān's guard, and the Janissaries scattered them with musketry; and hill and dale were made alike by Circassiān limbs and bodies.

Now, when Sulṭān Salīm saw his two wings overthrown, he heartened his Janissaries and commanded them to fire, and his guard moved against Sulṭān Qānṣū, and broke his centre with their guns and musketry. So Sulṭān Qānṣū withdrew from the battle and fled, and the Turks pursued, and slew many. And they found Sulṭān Qānṣū

dead on the field, but saw no wound on him. And the Turkish army took great booty and plunder. And Sulṭān Salīm went to Aleppo. Then the chief men of the country came out of the fort, and gave the keys of the treasury and of the gates and hoards to Sulṭān Salīm's agents. It is a strange thing<sup>(6)</sup> that the writer of the Ḥabību's-siyar, though he lived in that time, has written that Sulṭān Qānṣū died a natural death, and Sulṭān Salīm conquered the country without fighting. But the writer, Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū, has seen more than ten warriors, who were present at the battle, and he asked of them about it; and it was even as has been written.

*Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā's conquest of Balkh.*

This year Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, with Amīr Urdū Shāh, came outside Balkh and besieged it. Then Muḥammad Bahārlū,<sup>(7)</sup> Dīv Sulṭān's officer, strengthened the ramparts. After some months, on a Saturday, Khwāja Ḥaydar 'Alī and the headmen opened the 'Akkāsha<sup>(8)</sup> gate to Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā. So he entered the city, and Muḥammad Bahārlū was besieged in the citadel. But after two days he made terms, and came out and yielded. At that time, too, Amīr Khān Muḥammad Qāsim came to Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān from Shiburghān with gifts, and submitted. And Amīr Urdū Shāh gave the governorship of Balkh to his brother Qiwām Beg. And thereby Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā was angered, and their friendship was changed to dissension.

*The Shāh spends the winter at Nakhchiwān, and Dīv Sulṭān goes to Georgia.<sup>(9)</sup>*

This year there was war in Georgia between Qurqura<sup>(10)</sup> and Minuchihr. And Qurqura fled to the Shāh, and told him of the affairs of Georgia and of the victory of the froward men. And the Royal favour was given to <sup>1</sup>Minuchihr, and Dīv Sulṭān Rūmlū, Charkan Ḥasan Takalū,<sup>(11)</sup> Nārīn Beg Qājār, Qāzāq Beg Rūmlū, and Ḥasan Beg Chota, were commanded to make all haste and set out, and to strive to clear the land of Georgia of that wicked man. So the Chiefs set out for Āq Shahr<sup>(12)</sup> by way of Shūra Gil. And they came round that city like a sudden calamity. And, when Minuchihr saw it, his heart

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<sup>1</sup> So in the text, but Minuchihr appears to be an error for Qurqura.

was consumed, and he set out for the village of Dil with the Georgian Chiefs, and sent couriers to Dīv Sultān to speak of peace. The Chiefs put his couriers to death, and made expedition against him. And when they reached the village, Minuchihr fled to Turkey, and the Chiefs camped at the fort of Tumūk,<sup>(13)</sup> which is a fort on a hill in the midst of a deep valley. Then the Ghāzīs unfurled their flag, and drew their swords, and surrounded the fort. And for fourteen days between the Georgians and the Ghāzīs there was fighting, till the army of Islām pierced the water reservoir of the fort, and the heathen were forced to go to Dīv Sultān. Arzbānīr, Minuchihr's agent, came out of the fort with fitting tribute and presents. And Dīv Sultān gave the rule over Georgia to Qurqura, and returned. In this expedition Dīv Sultān put Charkan Ḥasan to death.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the Shāh spent the winter at Tabriz. Prince Tahmāsp arrived at Herāt, and stayed in the City Garden, and cherished the people with his just rule. By His Highness' grace there was a plenteous harvest this year.

*Deaths.*

Mawlānā 'Abdullāh Marwārīd<sup>(14)</sup> was in his youth in the service of Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā, till he reached the rank of Ṣadārat. Later he joined the ranks of the Chiefs, and attached the seal on behalf of Mir 'Alī Shīr. When Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā died, he went into retirement; and this year he died. His works were:—A diwān of qaṣīdas and odes; Ta'rikh-i-Shāhī; Munshāt; a History in verse; Khusrav and Shīrīn.

Sultān Qānṣū Ghūrī<sup>(15)</sup> was a learned man, and a friend of savants. At his death the rule of the Circassiān Sultāns came to an end. There were eighteen Kings of this race, namely:—'Izzu'd-dīn Beg; Malik Manṣūr; Sultān Kudūz; Banduqdār; Malik Sa'īd Muḥammad; Salāmish; Malik Manṣūr; Malik Ashraf; Malik Qāhir; Malik 'Ādil; Kīdbūqā; Ḥusāmu'd-din Lājīn; Sultān Nāṣir; Sultān Barqūq; Sultān Faraj; Malik Chaqmāq; Sultān Qaytbay; Nāṣir Yūsufi; Sultān Qānṣū Ghūrī. Tūmanī Beg struggled, but he could do nothing. Their countries were Egypt, and Syria, and Aleppo; and in Mecca and Medīna the coinage was in their names. Their dynasties lasted for two hundred and seventy-five years.

*A.H. 923. Sultān Salīm's expedition to Egypt and Syria, and his victory over Tūmanī Beg, and his conquest of the country.*

This year Sultān Salīm set out for Damascus, and the citizens surrendered the town, and received the Royal favour. On Friday the Khuṭba was read in the Mosque of the Banī Umayya<sup>(1)</sup> in the Sultān's name. Then the Sultān loaded many camels with water, and set out for Egypt. And, when he reached the confines of that country, he heard that the Chiefs of Egypt had made Tūmanī Beg,<sup>(2)</sup> sister's son to Sultān Qānṣū, their King. Then Sultān Salīm inspected his army, and the equipment of the Pāshās; and he marched on Egypt, and camped near Cairo. And Tūmanī Beg arrayed a vast host of warriors against him, with guns before the army. Now Ramazān Ūghalī, one of the chief nobles, advised that they should fight behind closed gates, but Tūmanī Beg hearkened not, but drew up over against Sultān Salīm. And a slave from the Egyptian army fled to the Sultān, and warned him of the guns prepared against him. So the Sultān came from the rear, and took them with gun and musket fire. And, as the Egyptians had not mounted their guns on swivels, they could not turn them. And they fled, and Sultān Salīm took their guns, and came over against the city. And the headmen and leaders came out of the fort, supplicating and asking for quarter. And Sultān Salīm forgave them, and sent Sinān Pāshā with a body of braves inside the city to protect it. But in the middle of the night the slaves and Arabs attacked him, and after a struggle overcame him, and killed him with eight hundred Slaves. But the rest of the Chiefs fought like men, and carried his body out of the city. Then Sultān Salīm went into the city himself, and stayed there while the Janissaries with loaded muskets were ready to fight. And Sultān Salīm took the chief men, and put many to death. And the Egyptians said they repented for what they had done, and begged forgiveness, and promised loyal service. And he gave certain of them dresses of honour and cheered them. But, when the Slaves despaired of the help of the people, they left the city by night, and set out for Abyssinia and Zanzibar. Thus the Sultān wintered there in peace. And in the spring Tūmanī Beg came from Abyssinia to Egypt. When Sultān Salīm heard of this he sent Qarācha Pāshā to meet him in the way. And, when they fought, the Slaves were defeated, and Tūmanī Beg was taken captive, and he tasted death at the hand of vengeance.

And all Egypt, and Syria, and Aleppo, and Ḥijāz, came under the power of Sulṭān Salīm. The kingdom of Egypt he gave to Khayr Beg, and the governorship of Syria to Jān Virdī Ghazālī, who had left the Egyptians and taken service. Thus, with pride and mighty plunder, he set out for Constantinople.

*The going of the Chiefs to Gharjistān,<sup>(3)</sup> and the defeat of Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān.*

This year Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā put Urdū Shāh to death. Qiwām Beg, brother of Urdū Shāh, made strong the battlements of Balkh, and sent many messengers to Kābul, and called for help from Bābur Pādshāh. So His Majesty set out for Balkh. Qiwām Beg handed over the fort and city to his officers, and repaired to the Royal camp. And Bābur, with a body of brave men, made expedition against Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān, and captured his family. And Mīrzā Muḥammad in grief set out for Gharjistān. The Governor of that Province, Amīr Shāh Sayfu'l-mulūk, and Khwāja Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn 'Alī went out to meet him, and obeyed him. After two days Bābur arrived at Āq Gumbad. But, since the whole of Gharjistān was on the side of Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān, Bābur could not enter the hill country; therefore he set out for Kābul by way of Fīrūz Kūh and Ghūr. Now, when Prince Ṭahmāsp heard of the coming of Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā to Gharjistān, he sent against that Prince Ibrāhīm Sulṭān<sup>(4)</sup> of Mawṣil and Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār, with an army. And the Ghāzis came up with the rebels. Then Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān and Sayfu'l-mulūk thought it fit to betake themselves to strong defiles. But certain of the men of Mughūl Qānchi<sup>(5)</sup> said they would die there, and they got ready for battle. But the Royal army overcame these bad men, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān set out for Sān and Chāryak. And the Chiefs returned to Herāt, safe and with booty. And Bābur Pādshāh's Governor of Balkh, Amīr Beg, with Ibrāhīm Jālīq, went after Muḥammad Zamān, who fought with a hundred of his men. His enemies unhorsed him, and one of the Mughūl men would have killed him; but Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā told him his name, and that man mounted him on his horse and took him to Amīn Beg, who sent him to Kābul. And Bābur Pādshāh made a covenant with him, and gave him the governorship of Balkh, and his daughter in marriage, and after three months sent him with a

squadron and foot soldiers to Balkh. And then, led on by foolish men, he fell to drinking the red wine, and neglected the affairs of his province.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the Shāh wintered at Nakhchiwān. And Minuchihr came back from Turkey with Qizil Aḥmad Ūghalī. And he and all the Turks were slain. And Dīv Sultān, who was in those regions, plundered Dāwili and returned to Chukhūr S'ad.

*A.H. 924.*

This year the Shāh heard that the Ruler of Māzandarān, Āghā Muḥammad Rūzafzūn, had rebelled. So he commanded that Dūrmish Khān Shāmlū<sup>(1)</sup> should go to Māzandarān with a body of braves. And Dūrmish Khān set out with a mighty host. When Āghā Muḥammad knew of their coming he strengthened the forts of Awlād and Kilīs. On the fifteenth of the month Zi'l-hijja the Ghāzis surrounded Kilīs, and in three days took it by assault, and went from thence to Awlād. Qāzi-i-Jahān, by the Khān's order, went inside the fort, and brought out Āghā Muḥammad on terms. And by God's grace the Khān proceeded to Sārī, whence the Governor, Amīr 'Abdu'l-karīm, by reason of his fear, sent his son, Sayyid Sultān Muḥammad with two thousand Tabrizī tūmāns to the Khān. And at the same time Sayyid Ḥusayn Hazārjarībī, and the Rulers of Rustamdār, Malik Kāūs and Malik Bahman, came to the Khān's court with much tribute; and, being received honourably, returned to their own country.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the Shāh wintered at Tabriz. Shekh Shāh, King of Shīrwān, Amīra Dubbāj,<sup>(2)</sup> King of Resht, and Kār Kiyā Sultān Aḥmad of Lāhijān, came to the Court. And Amīra Dubbāj was given the title of Muẓaffar Sultān. Qurqura, Ruler of Georgia, also came to Court, and the Shāh sent Dīv Sultān back with him to Georgia. And Dīv Sultān conquered the forts of Lūri and Şūram.

*Deaths.*

Mawlānā 'Alā'ud-dīn, the Physician, died of pneumonia.

*A.H. 925.*

This year the Shāh sent Ibrāhīm Sultān Mawṣilū to ravage Gharjistān. And, when Amīr Shāh Muḥammad knew of his army's

coming, he prepared for siege in the fort of Kashtī-i-nūr, and sent Amīr Ja'far 'Alī to Ibrāhīm Sultān, and begged that the province be given to him. But Ibrāhīm put him to death. After three days he attacked. And the brave Sīwar Ūghalī mounted on the battlement. But Shāh Muḥammad Sayfu'l-mulūk, with some poor men, left the fort, and fled to Maymana; and Ibrāhīm Sultān destroyed the fort, and set out for Herāt.

*A.H. 926.*

This year Bābur Pādshāh<sup>(1)</sup> marched to Qandahār, and Shujā' Beg, being besieged in the fort, ordered his men to fight. But Bābur's officers prevailed, and drove them to the gates. So Shujā' Beg sent couriers to Herāt to Amīr Khān, and prayed for help. And Amīr Khān sent envoys to Bābur, with a message that Shujā' Beg had repented, though once he had rebelled, and promised that hereafter he would be loyal; it would be right for His Majesty to abandon the siege and return to Kābul. But Bābur answered that, after he took Qandahār, he would send Shujā' Beg to Prince Ṭahmasp, who might give Qandahār to whomsoever he chose. And he strove to conquer Qandahār, and the siege continued for well nigh three years. And it went hard with the besieged, and they were sore pressed. And in the next year, when Dūrmish Khān came to Herāt as Governor, he sent Muẓaffar Beg, his officer, to Bābur Pādshāh, and begged him to march from Qandahār, and go to Kābul. So Bābur marched from Qandahār and set out for his own country. And Shujā' Beg, entrusting Qandahār to his officer Mawlānā Bāqī, set out for Khurāsān. But the Mawlānā forgot his duty to Shujā' Beg, and sent and called Bābur Pādshāh. And Bābur returned, and took possession of Qandahār, and gave it to his son, Kāmran Mīrzā.

This year the Shāh wintered in Iṣfahān.

#### *Deaths.*

Sultān Salīm bin Sultān Bāyazīd bin Sultān Muḥammad bin Sultān Murād bin Sultān Muḥammad bin Īldarim Bāyazīd bin Sultān Murād bin Ūrkhān bin Sultān 'Uṣmān bin Artūghrul, died<sup>(2)</sup> from plague. He was a victorious monarch. He reigned twenty years and eight months and eight days; and his empire was Anatolia, Rumelia, Taka Īlī, Mar'ash, Kaffa,<sup>(3)</sup> Syria, Aleppo, Egypt and Diyār-bakr. He fought four wars. The first war was with his father, Sultān

Bāyazīd; the second with his brother Sultān Aḥmad; the third with His Majesty Shāh Ismā'il; the fourth with Sultān Qānṣū, the King of Egypt and Syria. His son Sultān Sulaymān was in Amāsia. They brought him urgently to Constantinople, and set him on the throne. The poet Amīnī<sup>(4)</sup> composed a Qaṣīda, every line of which gives the date of his accession.

*A.H. 927. Events in Khurāsān. 'Ubayd Khān's coming to Herāt.*

This year 'Ubayd Khān crossed the Oxus with thirty thousand men for Herāt. On Thursday, the sixteenth of the second month of Jumādā, Sūndūk Beg, Governor of Sarakhs, sent a man to Herāt, and made plain these doings. So the Ghāzīs looked to the strengthening of the fort, and Pīrī Sultān Rūmlū, with Ṣūfiyān Khalifa Rūmlū, defended the 'Irāq gate, Amīr Muḥammad bin Amīr Yūsuf the Malik gate, Marjamak Sultān the Khush gate, Nukhūd Beg the Fīrūzābād gate. And Amīr Khān with five hundred men stationed himself in the City Garden. On the morning of Saturday, the thirteenth, Shātīr 'Abdullāh, who by Amīr Khān's order was in the town of Chihil Dukhtarān,<sup>(1)</sup> came to the city, and reported that 'Ubayd Khān was at hand. By Amīr Khān's command he left the city and took up his quarters in the Ravens' Garden. On the morning of Sunday 'Ubayd Khān with a large number of Uzbeks, arrived at the Avenue, and camped at Sāq-i-Salmān.<sup>(2)</sup> Two days later he commanded the Uzbeks to begin the fight, and a party of them came to the Ravens' Garden, and some, coming through the Avenue, came near the colleges. Amīr Ḥusayn 'Alī, servant of Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Muḥammad, went out of the city with certain fierce men, and between the colleges a great fight was fought; and they drove back 'Ubayd Khān's men with bows and muskets. So the second time 'Ubayd's men attacked the 'Irāq gate; and they were smitten by the Ghāzīs, and returned to their camp. On Friday, the second of the month Rajab, 'Ubayd Khān marched with his wild men to the Sālār bridge, and thence set out for Bukhārā. And the men of Herāt were freed from the siege.

When news of the death of Sultān Salīm reached Syria, Jān Virdī Ghazālī rebelled, and camped near Aleppo<sup>(3)</sup> with certain of the Circassian and Arab Chiefs. Qarācha Pāshā, the Sultān's Governor of the fort, was shut up, and the Syrian irregulars began the fight and siege. And the Turks defended, and for about a month the enemy



camped hard by the city, fixing his eyes on the walls. Daily, warriors, sallying from the city, attacked. At night Jān Virdī set out for Damascus, and Qarācha Pāshā sent word to the capital. So Sultān Sulaymān sent Farhād Pāshā, with an army and guns. The Pāshā moved with speed, and camped, with 'Alī Beg, the son of Shāh-suwār Zu'l-Qadar, hard by Damascus. And Jān Virdī Ghazālī hastened to the battle. But Farhād Pāshā prevailed, and Jān Virdī Ghazālī was slain. And Farhād Pāshā returned with victory to Constantinople. And he complained to Sultān Sulaymān of 'Alī Beg; wherefore Sultān Sulaymān sent Farhād Pāshā to the Zu'l-Qadar country. And when he arrived there he feigned to be ill, and 'Alī Beg thought to visit him. Now his son, Walad Beg, said 'Let us kill Farhād Pāshā, and plunder his camp, and set out for the Shāh's Court; for his sickness is deceit'. But 'Alī Beg would not hearken, but went to visit Farhād Pāshā, who took him and put him to death.

*Dīv Sultān leads an army to Georgia.*

This year Lawand Khān, the Ruler of Georgia, rebelled, and sent a body of faithless Gabrs to plunder Shakī. And Ḥasan Beg,<sup>(4)</sup> Governor of that place, sent to Court for aid; and the Shāh sent Dīv Sultān Rūmlū with certain great Chiefs and warriors to help him. And Dīv Sultān crossed by Fāīq and Qabrī and ravaged Zakam and Gīram and pitched his camp at Qarī. And Lawand perceived that it was vain to strive with a raging elephant, and saw no way but to leave rebellion and submit. And he stirred up interceders, and humbled himself, and asked forgiveness, and said that it was hard for them to meet now that enmity had caused estrangement, but that, if Dīv Sultān would return, he would come to the Shāh's Court and show his service and loyalty. So Dīv Sultān returned to Court.

*Miscellaneous events.*

The Shāh passed the winter at Nakhchiwān. Āghā Muḥammad Rūzafzūn fled from the Royal camp, and went to Māzandarān. And Amīr 'Abdu'l-karīm contended with him, but was overthrown. And Āghā Muḥammad fled to the fort of Awlād; and the Shāh sent Choha Sultān with the army of 'Irāq and Kurdistān against him. In a week Choha Sultān took Fort Awlād, and captured Āghā Muḥammad, and sent him to Court. And the province of Māzandarān was

conferred on Amīr 'Abdu'l-karīm, and he covenanted to send seven thousand tūmāns to the treasury. This year, also, the Turkish King conquered the fort of Belgrade, and drove out the Frankish unbelievers from that country.

### *Deaths.*

Khwāja Mawlānā-i-Iṣfahānī<sup>(5)</sup> was a bigoted Sunnī. In Shāh Ismā'il's reign he went to Herāt; and, when Shaybak Khān conquered Khurāsān, he entered the Khān's service; and the Khān chid him because of his hatred for the family of 'Alī. He died at Bukhārā on the fifth day of the first month of Jumādā. Among his works is the Ta'rīkh-i-'Ālam-ārāy.

Mawlānā 'Abdullāh Hātifi,<sup>(6)</sup> the son of Mawlānā Jāmī's sister, died in the month of Muḥarram. Among his poems are:—Khusraw and Shīrīn; Laylā and Majnūn; Haft Manzar; Tīmūrnāma: Shāhnāma of His Majesty Shāh Ismā'il.

Amīr Muḥammad<sup>(7)</sup> bin Amīr Yūsuf; Amīr Khān put him to death on Saturday, the eighth day of Rajab. When this news reached the Shāh he thought that Amīr Khān might have rebelled, and he sent Dūrmish Khān to govern Khurāsān. And Amīr Khān was afraid because of the murder of Amīr Muḥammad bin Amīr Yūsuf, and on Saturday, the nineteenth of Zi'l-q'ada he set off in the suite of Prince Ṭahmāsp for Sabzawār, and noised it abroad that Amīr Muḥammad designed to bring Bābur Pādshāh to Khurāsān, and to give Herāt to him. So, when he heard of this, he cut short his life; and now he would remove Bābur also. At that time Dūrmish Khān and Zaynal Khān had arrived at the Mālān bridge. When Dūrmish heard of Amīr Khān's going, he went to him. And Amīr Khān made a feast for him, and the red wine removed his trouble and changed it to love for Amīr Khān, who was certified that he would keep the government of Khurāsān as of yore. And he returned to Herāt. At that time Khwāja Ḥabībullāh came from Court to the camp of Prince Ṭahmāsp, and sent a man to Dūrmish Khān, saying that he had papers about questioning the ministers and courtiers of Amīr Khān as to the death of Amīr Muḥammad bin Amīr Yūsuf; if Dūrmish Khān thought it proper, he would see Amīr Khān, and show him the order. Dūrmish Khān answered that he was not willing that Amīr Khān should be troubled by him; the

orders might be suppressed. Next day Khwāja Ḥabībullāh met Amīr Khān during the march. And Amīr Khān, being vexed, asked, 'What wrong have I done to Khwāja Shāh Ḥusayn that he persecutes me?' The Khwāja answered, 'You have dared to kill Amīr Muḥammad bin Amīr Yūsuf, who is of the Holy Prophet's race. Of that house Mirzā Shāh Ḥusayn is a friend.' When Amīr Khān heard these words from the Khwāja, he turned away his face and made for Herāt.

*A.H. 928.*

This year Prince Ṭahmāsp set out for the Royal Court, and Amīr Khān was with him. And Amīr Khān fell sick on the road, so that he could not ride, but sat in a litter. Then Prince Ṭahmāsp reached the Royal camp, and the Chiefs and Ministers met him. And the Shāh rejoiced exceedingly to see the Prince.

*Miscellaneous events.*

The winter quarters were at Tabrīz. This year Dūrmish Khān restored the villages and lands that had been ruined. And Astarābād was given to Zaynal Khān, and Zaynu'd-dīn Sulṭān was made Governor of Isfarāin, and Aḥmad Sulṭān Afshār of Farah.

*Deaths.*

Amīr Khān bin Gulābī Beg bin Amīr Beg of Mawṣil. He was in the time of Ḥasan Pādshāh a trusted officer, and he did great battle with the nobles of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd. This year he died on Sunday, the twelfth day of Sha'bān.

*A.H. 929.*

Since the unbelievers of Rhodes had oft-times shown enmity towards Sulṭān Sulaymān, this year he crossed the sea against them. And Maqāl Matūrī,<sup>(1)</sup> the Governor of the fort, heard of the coming of the Turks, and sent a man to Europe for help. Then Sulṭān Sulaymān came, and commanded that the fort should be taken. So the Turkish army set up guns, and broke the towers. And he commanded, and about three hundred thousand men gathered together from the Empire, with spades and pick-axes, and came to the fort. And the Franks were afraid, and sent ambassadors to Sulṭān Sulaymān asking for peace. And a covenant was made, and they handed over the fort, and themselves went in ships to Europe. And Sulṭān Sulaymān,

having conquered that country, came to Constantinople. The poet Mawlānā Niyāzī<sup>(2)</sup> has written a qaṣīda; the first half verse gives the date of the Sulṭān's accession, and the second that of the conquest of Rhodes.

Ummīdī<sup>(3)</sup> of Tehrān was in mildness of temper the first of the poets of the age. Between him and Shāh Qiwāmu'd-dīn<sup>(4)</sup> Nūr Bakhsh there was a 'dispute regarding a garden, and this year Qiwāmu'd-dīn sent Bāyandur Awlād with men, who wounded Ummīdī, so that he died.

Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn, in his youth, was a builder in Iṣfahān, and later he engaged in small matters, especially as Wazīr of the Dārōgha of that place, who was a servant of Dūrmish Khān. After that, because of the services which he rendered to the Shāh, he received the Royal favour and was given the high office of Wakīl. Of a truth, since the Almighty created the heavens and the earth, there has been no such Wazīr, and his high generosity reached so far that daily he bestowed a thousand tūmāns in stipends and rewards; and from excess of pride, and, trusting in the Royal favour, he regarded no man, and esteemed the Ministers of the state as nought; till all were estranged and joined together to destroy him. And among them Mehtar Shāh Qulī Rikābdār, the overseer of the stables, owed a certain sum; and the Wazīr demanded it, and was in the way to dishonour him. So on Thursday, the eighth day of the first Jumādā as he was leaving the office and going to his house, Mehtar Shāh Qulī deceitfully came behind him, and, pulling out a dagger from his waist, smote him on the shoulder. And the qūrchīs,<sup>(5)</sup> who were present, saying that it was the Shāh's order to cut him to pieces, drew their swords and killed him. So his pen was drowned in blood, and his inkstand blackened, and the writing on his papers was washed away with his tears. And Mehtar Shāh Qulī mounted on a fleet steed, and rode away to Shīrwān. But Shekhshāh, King of Shīrwān, seized him, and sent him to the Shāh, who handed him over to the slaves of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn, who put him to death. And it is a strange thing that, four days before the Mīrzā was killed, Qāzī 'Abdu'r-raḥmān of Sāwa, Qāzī 'Isā's brother's son, saw in a dream that Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn had ascended to heaven, and of a sudden fell down to earth, and perished. Then a certain man said 'Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn of Iṣfahān has finished his life, and his name and descent give the

year of his death'. Then the Qāzī awoke from his sleep, and counted the letters of 'Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn Iṣfahānī,' and found them to agree with what they had said in his dream. Being greatly amazed he went to Amīr Jamālu'd-dīn, the Ṣadr, and told him of it. And of a sudden the thing did truly come to pass. And Khwāja Ziyā'u'd-dīn wrote a lamentation on the death of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn. And the Mīrzā's place was given to Khwāja Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad Khwāndamīr<sup>(6)</sup> of Tabriz.

*A.H. 930.*

When the winter ended, the Royal hunter marched from Tabriz towards Shakī. And Ghāzīs and nobles were commanded to gather together at one of the villages. Then Ḥasan Beg,<sup>(1)</sup> the Governor of Shakī, came to Court with tribute, and was accepted. His Majesty returned hunting; and, after he had visited the tombs of his ancestors, set out for Sarāb, and pitched his camp in Ṣāyīn Kadūkī. There His Majesty fell ill.<sup>(2)</sup>

*Miscellaneous events.*

In this year Lawand Beg, the Georgian, led an army to Shakī, and Ḥasan Beg, the Governor, went to battle with a strong force. A hard battle was fought, and the Shakī army was overcome, and Ḥasan Beg was slain. Then Lawand Beg returned to Gīram. And the men of Shakī appointed Ḥasan's son Darwish Muḥammad Khān, their Governor.

*Deaths.*

This year Chāyān Sultān,<sup>(3)</sup> the Amīru'l-umarā, died; and Dīv Sultān became Amīru'l-umarā.

Shāh Isma'īl bin Sultān Ḥaydar bin Sultān Junayd bin Shekh Ibrāhīm bin Sultān Khwāja 'Alī bin Sultān Ṣadru'd-dīn bin Sultān Shekh Ṣafīyyu'd-dīn. This year illness overcame His Majesty, and, skilful physicians attended him in vain. For, hour by hour, his weakness grew, and he could not withstand his sickness. So, on the night before Monday, the nineteenth of the month of Rajab, his sun set. And Amīr Jamālu'd-dīn of Astarābād washed His Majesty's body, and they bore him to Ardabīl, and buried him beside his ancestors and his father.

He treated his subjects and the lowly with justice and kindness, and from awe of him the gates of oppression over the people were shut. His age was thirty-eight years,<sup>(4)</sup> and he reigned for twenty-

four years. His realm was Ādarbāyjān, Persian 'Irāq, Khurāsān, Fārs, Kirmān, and Khūzistān; and for some time, also, Diyārbakr, Balkh, and Marv. His Majesty was a lion in battle, and a cloud, dropping pearls of bounty, in the banquet chamber. His generosity looked upon pure gold as but a worthless stone, and in his high spirit the world's riches did not suffice for a day. So his treasury was for the most part empty. He loved the chase, and would slay a lion alone. And he commanded his agents to give to him who brought news of a lion, a horse and saddle; and, for a panther, a horse. And he would go alone, and slay the lion or panther. His Majesty fought five battles in his reign. The first was with Farrukh Yasār, King of Shīrwān, at the village of Jabānī; the second with Alwand, at Shurūr; the third with Sulṭān • Murād, at Ālma Qulāqī of Hamadān; the fourth with Shaybak Khān, near Marv; the fifth with Sulṭān Salīm at Chāldirān. His Majesty had four sons—Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Sām Mirzā, Ilqās Mirzā (who dared to rebel), and Bahrām Mirzā. His Majesty's daughters were five—Khānish Khānam, Parikhān Khānam, Mihīn Bānū Sulṭānam, Farangīs Khānam, and Shāh Zinat Khānam. Besides there were children who died in childhood, whose names need not be written here. Verses giving the date of his death shew it to be given by the words 'Zil', and 'Khusraw-i-dīn.'

Qāsim Khān<sup>(5)</sup> bin Sayyidak Khān bin Jānī Beg bin Burāq bin Qarāja bin Qūzī 'Āq bin Urūs Khān bin Chatmāy Khān bin Īrzan bin Sāsī Būqāy bin Qūlī bin Āurda bin Jūjī bin Chingīz Khān, died this year. He was a brave king, and his country was the Plain of Qipchāq and the Cossack tribes. After him his son Haqq Nazar Khān became Khān, and he is now the Ruler of the Plain.

Shekh Shāh<sup>(6)</sup> bin Farrukh Yasār also died this year. He reigned for twenty-three years. His country was all Shīrwān. After him his son Sulṭān Khalīl took his place.

Khwāja Jalālu'd-dīn Khwāndamīr of Tabrīz, who became Wazīr after Mirza Shāh Ḥusayn, recited a quatrain<sup>(7)</sup> on the day he became Wazīr:—

Light of my eyes—through which the world is known ! My days  
are black like night now thou hast flown.

We were two lamps that gave one single ray. Fate took thee  
from me ; and I burn alone.

So long as His Majesty lived the Khwāja was his independent Wazīr. And on the Shāh's death he was accepted as Wazīr by Shāh Tahmāsp. But there was contention between him and Dīv Sultān, the Amīru'l-umarā, which led at last to treachery, and he was killed. It is said that, on the day that they were plaiting the reeds to burn him, he recited verses about it.

*The Accession of Shāh Tahmāsp.*

On the morning of Monday, the nineteenth of Rajab, His Majesty Shāh Tahmāsp sat on the throne of his father. His age was then ten years and six months and twenty days. The Chiefs and Ministers stood in their appointed places, and great and small thronged the Court, and attended on the Royal word. And Faith and State received new lustre. Then the Shāh bestowed favours on his nobles and Chiefs, and Dīv Sultān Rūmlū was entrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, and Qāzī-i-Jahān of Qazwīn was made head of the offices after Jalālu'd-dīn was burnt. And Amīr Qiwāmu'd-dīn Husayn was made joint Ṣadr along with Amīr Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad of Astārābād. That winter was spent at Tabriz. And the governorship of Khurāsān was handed over, as before, to Dūrmish Khān.

Now 'Ubayd Khān bin Maḥmūd Sultān became Ruler in Bukhārā. After the death of Shaybak Khān he desired to conquer Khurāsān, but feared the Shāh, and made himself content with Bukhārā. This year, with the help of the Chingīz Khāns and fierce Uzbeks, he crossed the Oxus for Khurāsān. And when news of this reached Herāt, Tīmūr Ūghalī and Husayn Mīrzā and Khwāja' Ḥabībullāh, and all the loyal Ghāzīs, went to the Khān's assembly and took counsel together. And they agreed to stand a siege. Then the Firūzābād gate was assigned to Khwāja Ḥabībullāh, while Tīmūr Ūghalī strengthened the 'Irāq gate, and Husayn Mīrzā, the Khān's brother, defended the Malik gate. And Dūrmish Khān with a party of Ghāzīs abode with Sāmī Mīrzā, so that he might attend equally to all the gates and towers, and so that he might bring help quickly wheresoever it was needed. Next day Kūchum Khān, and 'Ubayd Khān, and the other Sultāns, came close to the city; and Kūchum Khān camped in the village of Shāmiyāna, 'Ubayd Khān and the men of Bukhārā in the Deer Garden, Sūnjuk Sultān and a body of braves in the Garden of Desire, and Abū Sa'īd Sultān in the village of Marān. In truth the city of Herāt was surrounded by these fierce Uzbeks.

Then the Uzbeks attacked the Fīrūzābād gate. And Khwāja Ḥabībullāh and his officers came out and fought, and drove them back. Next day 'Ubayd Khān and the Uzbeks mounted, and came near the barricades. But the Ghāzīs scattered them with musket fire. And in those days the Uzbek foes of the Ṣafawīs oft-times came to battle, and as often they suffered defeat. And since they hit not the mark of their desire, nor saw the light of fortune dawn, they thought of peace. And Kūchum Khān sent a letter to Dūrmish Khān, bidding him to cease resisting, and to come out and hand over the keys of the city, and be enrolled amongst their nobles. And when Dūrmish Khān understood this letter, he sent back an answer from Sām Mirzā to Kūchum Khān, thus:—'May Kūchum Khān be protected by the Royal favour, and know, that I have seen the letter which was sent to my guardian Dūrmish Khān. And I am amazed beyond measure that the Khān should so write, notwithstanding what he has seen of fighting, and travel, and all manner of experience. This day he should march to his own country, and save himself from the wrath of the Royal swordsmen.' By the order of Dūrmish Khān this letter was sent to Kūchum Khān, who, when he had understood it, came again for battle. And one day Dūrmish Khān, with a body of his own men, came up the tower of Mirzā Sulṭān Aḥmad, which is hard by the Garden of Desire. He sent a party of his servants under Qarā Īshīk towards the Garden of Desire, and the soldiers mounted and moved towards the garden. And when they reached the White Garden, where were the Uzbek watchmen, a great fight began; and the fierce Uzbeks fled from the brave Syrians.<sup>(8)</sup> Then the warriors passed from the White Garden to the gate of the Garden of Desire, and a brave man broke the gate with his battle mace. At that time 'Ubayd Khān had come to Sūnjuk Muḥammad Sulṭān, and they were speaking together. And a company of Uzbeks, in all confusion, came to them, and said, 'Rise; for the Qizilbāsh army, and its Syrian rabble, have forced their way, and come to the garden.' And Sūnjuk Muḥammad Sulṭān, from the excess of his confusion, fell into a stream. And 'Ubayd Khān, in utter fear, got him to his horse, and fled to his camp. And the Ghāzīs returned. And when the Uzbeks perceived such daring in the Ghāzīs, they knew that to take Herāt by fighting was a thing impossible. And they marched off to their own country.



A.H. 931.

This year there arose a quarrel between Dīv Sultān Rūmlū and Kupuk Sultān Ustājilū concerning the post of Wakīl. Since the retainers of Dīv Sultān were in Chukhūr Sa'd he submitted to the Ustājilū Chiefs, and having obtained leave to go to Khurāsān to fight the Uzbeks, set out for the summer quarters of Lār.<sup>(1)</sup> And from thence he wrote to Choha Sultān, Governor of the Kalhūr<sup>(2)</sup> country and 'Alī Sultān Zu'l-Qadar, Governor of Shīrāz, and Qarā Sultān Takalū, feudal Lord of Hamadān, and all the Chiefs of high degree, saying :—' We have come with horse and foot, by the Shāh's command, against the Uzbeks. Let our friends unite with us, and gather their forces, and join our camp at Lār.' Then he sent couriers with those letters, and passed the summer at Lār. And the Governors of Māzandarān, and Hazārjarib, and Rustamdār, sent their officers with boundless presents to Dīv Sultān's court at Lār. And Dīv Sultān made a feast, and the cups of red wine passed around, and musicians played, surpassing what is heard in the halls of love of Venus. And he wrote letters, and sealed them with the Shāh's seal, which he had brought with him, to Kāshān and Qum and to all the province of 'Irāq, and brought arms and armour and divided them among the Chiefs' men. And he won their hearts by gifts; and all followed him. To the Chiefs he said 'The Shāh was on my side, but Kupuk Sultān raised up mischief. So, therefore, I have left the country; and I ask of you to help me with all your hearts, that I may take the Wakīl's place from him.' And the Chiefs agreed, and they moved towards Tabriz. And when Kupuk Sultān heard of their coming, he took counsel with his officers. Then Qāranja Beg said that Dīv Sultān was a man faithless and caring not for the right, who, for all the favours the Shāh had shown him, had no gratitude in that he thus behaved. They need not fear him, but trust in the King, and go and meet him, and open the gates of battle before his face. But Kupuk Sultān would have none of this, and said, 'Lo, we are both the slaves of the Shāh, and the friends of this Court. Neither should we quarrel with one another.' After that he went to meet Dīv Sultān as far as Turkmān Kandī,<sup>(3)</sup> and together they came to Court and presented themselves at Jarandāb.<sup>(4)</sup> Dīv Sultān put to death Qāranja Beg Ustājilū and Nārīn Beg Qājār, who had set on foot

this trouble; and seized Qāzī-ī-Jahān and sent him to the fort of Nūri<sup>(5)</sup>; and Kupuk Sulṭān and all the Ustājilūs he sent to fight in Georgia. And, after they had gone, he cut off the grants that were theirs. Now Kupuk Sulṭān had thought that, when he ceased to withstand him, Dīv Sulṭān would make him joint Wakīl. But this, in truth, was not done.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the Shāh gave the superintendence of the State offices to Amīr Ja'far of Sāwa; and Chōha Sulṭān had the Royal Seal in place of Kupuk Sulṭān. Winter quarters were at Tabriz.

*Deaths.*

This year Dūrmish Khān bin 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū died. Then the Shāh gave the governorship of Herāt to Ḥusayn Khān his <sup>1</sup> brother. 'Alī Sulṭān, Governor of Shīrāz, died; and the Shāh gave Shīrāz to Murād Sulṭān Zu'l-Qadar.<sup>(6)</sup>

Amīr Jamālu'd-dīn Muḥammad of Astarābād was a pupil of Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad Dawwānī. Thereafter he read the *Sharh-i-Tawālī* at Herāt under Mawlānā Shekh Ḥasan Muḥtasib. At last he became Ṣadr of Shāh Ismā'il, as has been written. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn was at variance with him. So he sent for Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Manṣūr to come to Court, and be joint Ṣadr with him. But nothing was done. Oft-times they spoke of the matter; and, since Amīr Jamālu'd-dīn was humorous, he ever turned their talk into some witticism. Therefore Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Manṣūr returned to Shīrāz, and gained not his object. Mawlānā Khalīlullāh, the astrologer of Kāshān, wrote a quatrain about this matter. And, when first the Seal of the Muḥtahids, Shekh 'Alī, came to Court from Arabian 'Irāq, he and the Amīr were friends outwardly. The Amīr desired that the Shekh should read with him Mawlānā 'Alī Qūshjī's commentary on the *Tajrīd*, and that he should read with Shekh 'Alī the book of the *Qawā'id*. And the Amīr said that this week was proper for the Ṣūfī study, the next week for jurisprudence. So the Shekh gave one or two lessons on the *Tajrīd*. But when the Amīr's turn came for jurisprudence, he feigned to be ill. In truth after Muḥaqqiq Khwāja Naṣīru'd-dīn Muḥammad Ṭūsī none strove

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<sup>1</sup> Brother's son in the text: see notes on text.

more to spread the Shī'a faith. And all he could he did to punish miscreants, to root out heresy, to stop the use of things forbidden, to spread praise and mourning, to promote religious duties and public prayer and fasting and daily prayers, to look after Imāms and Muezzins, to prevent the acts of rebels and wrong-doers. And he encouraged every man to study the Law of Islām, and made it his duty. This year he died; and, according to his will, they took his body to Ḥusayn's tomb at Karbala, and buried it there.

### A.H. 932.

#### *The war with the Ustājīlū Chiefs.*

This year, because of the stopping of their grants, the Ustājīlū Chiefs began to rebel. Early in the month of Rajab, Kupuk Sultān came to Sultāniyya from Khalkhāl, and Mantashā Sultān, Qilij Khān, Kurd Beg, and Badr Beg, joined him. And when Dīv Sultān and Choha Sultān heard of their rebellion, they moved against them with a great army, and camped at the village of Saksanjuk.<sup>(1)</sup> The Chiefs thought to try again for peace, and to put down this rebellion by their plans. So Qāsim Khalifa Warsāq was sent to lay the foundations of peace. And Qāsim sought to make peace, and came to Kupuk Sultān. But it was vain; for this dispute could not be ended save by the sword. On the right wing were Burūn Sultān Takalū, Qarācha Sultān, and Akhī Sultān Takalū; on the left Damrī Sultān Shāmlū, and Zu'l-Qadar Ūghalī Muḥammad Khān. And the Ustājīlūs in the centre were under the standard of Kupuk Sultān; their right wing was under Mantashā Sultān, and their left under Qazāq Sultān. Then Kupuk and Mantashā attacked the Takalū Chiefs, and overthrew them, and killed Burūn Sultān<sup>(2)</sup> and Qarācha Sultān, and pursued after their men. But they were attacked by the Shāh, and a company of qūrchīs put them to flight, and pursued after them. So the Ustājīlū Chiefs fled to Abhar. But, by swift pursuit, they caught them; and they fled for refuge to Muḥaffar Sultān, Governor of Resht. And he sent eight thousand foot to help them. Therefore the Shāh, leaving his camp at Khalkhāl, hastened after them, and sent as envoys Dīv Sultān, Choha Sultān, Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadar Ūghalī, Akhī Sultān, and Damrī Sultān. But when there reached Kharzawīl,<sup>(3)</sup> Kupuk, Mantashā,

Qazāq, Kurd Beg, Badr Beg, and Qilīj Beg, burst of a sudden out of the Gīlān jungles, and arrayed themselves before them. But in the battle the Shāh's men got the victory. So Kupuk Sulṭān fled, and the Chiefs pursued, and slew most of the Gīlān men. But Kupuk and Mantashā escaped, and came, after much toil, to Gīlān.

*The war of Bābur with the Afghāns, and his Indian victory.*<sup>(4)</sup>

Now Bābur marched against Bihra. And the Afghāns fled. So Bābur entrusted the land to one of his officers, and returned to Kābul. Then he marched against Lahore, and took it. But Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, King of India, led a vast host against him, with elephants, expecting that Bābur would fear, and would return to Kābul. And the battle was fought at Pānīpat. The greater part of the elephants were wounded, and the Hindus fled. Ibrāhīm fled to a waste place, and he was taken and put to death. Then Bābur, having entrusted Delhi to the Qutluqs, set out for Āgra. Thus he took possession of the land of India.

*The capture of Ṭūs*<sup>(5)</sup> *by 'Ubayd Khān.*

Now when 'Ubayd Khān heard of the dissensions among the Persians, the death of Khwāja Ḥabībullāh, the conquests of the Syrians, the deaths of Dūrmish Khān and Burūn Sulṭān, and the disorder in Khurāsān, he crossed the Oxus and came to Marv, and set out for Ṭūs with horse and foot, and surrounded it. At that time Burūn's family was in the town. And the Ghāzis came out, and fought all day, and in the evening returned to the city, and were shut in by 'Ubayd Khān; and for months they were besieged. Then starvation came upon them, and they ate old leather, and many drank the blood of their horses, and their horses they fed on wood. They sent for help to the rulers of Khurāsān; but none came to help them. So the Uzbeks overcame them, and took the land. And 'Ubayd Khān handed over the town to a trusted officer, and set out for Astarābād.

*The taking of Balkh by Kaskan Qarā Sulṭān.*<sup>(6)</sup>

Now, in the autumn, Kaskan, son of Jāni Beg, appeared outside Balkh with a great army of Uzbeks, and besieged Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā. And Bābur called Muḥammad Zamān. So he left Balkh for Āgra, where he was honourably received, and given a grant of twenty thousand tūmāns. And Kaskan took Balkh.

*The war between Zaynu'-d-din Sulṭān and Chaghatāy Bahādur.*

Then Chaghatāy Bahādur with three thousand horse fell on Khurāsān, and plundered it, and returned. And when Zaynu'-d-din Sulṭān Shāmlū, Governor of Isfārāin, heard of this, he sent Maḥmūd Beg against the Uzbeks. And he met them six leagues from Isfārāin. In the battle, out of six hundred horsemen of Zaynu'-d-din, three hundred were slain; and, of three thousand Uzbeks, seven hundred. So the Uzbeks marched to Bukhārā, and the Ghāzīs returned to Isfārāin.

*Miscellaneous events.*

The Shāh wintered at Qazwīn. This year there came Kār Kiyā Aḥmad, Governor of Lāhijān. He was received, and returned to his own land.

*The murder of Khwāja Ḥabībullah. (')*

One day, as the Khwāja played at backgammon, there came a company of Shāmlūs, who had not received their pay. And raising their voices, they asked to be relieved from service, if they were not to be paid. The Khwāja said he would let them go; and he wrote and sealed a passport for them. But the Syrians went straightway to Yār Aḥmad Khalifa, their Chief, and told him. And he had the Khwāja's house surrounded, and killed his son, and all his relations and attendants, to the number of nigh one hundred souls. And Darwish Beg Rūmlū laid hold of the Khwāja. And the Khwāja prayed that he might be sent to Sām Mīrzā. So Darwish Beg threw a cloak over his head that men might not know him. But certain Syrians knew him and put him to death. He was a generous man, feeding people in Ramazān; giving clothes to the poor, when the winter came; helping the sick with medicines. He had an officer appointed to go round about the land and provide shrouds for the burial of strangers who died; and he would ask any great man that came to him if he had any needy whom he could help.

*A.H. 933.**The battle between Dīv and Chōsha Sulṭāns and the Ustājilū Chiefs at Shurūr. The defeat of the Ustājilūs and death of Kupuk Sulṭān.*

Now, since his defeat and flight to Gīlān, Kupuk Sulṭān thought day and night how he might take Dīv Sulṭān's place. So he turned

towards Ardabil. And Bādinjān Sulṭān Rūmlū abode at Ardabil. And he was ninety years old, and was weak in mind. And he went to meet Kupuk Sulṭān, along with Ayqūt Beg Rūmlū and Maqsūd Beg Chapanī and the Ṭālīsh Chiefs and three thousand and eight hundred horse. At Qarā Dara they met. And Mantashā Sulṭān and his warriors attacked their centre, and Bādinjān Sulṭān, though his army was great and his pride boundless, fled before those few Ustājīlūs. Then the Ustājīlū Chiefs pursued them, and Aḥmad Āghā Chāūshlū, the standard bearer of Qāzuq Sulṭān, killed Bādinjān, and took his head to the Ustājīlū Chiefs, who entered the city. And they made pilgrimage to Shekh Ṣafīyyu-'d-dīn Ishāq's tomb, and set out for Tabriz. Then the Shāh, hearing of this, sent Dīv Sulṭān, and Choha Sulṭān, and Zu'l-Qadar Muḥammad Khān,<sup>(1)</sup> with eight thousand horse and a thousand qūrchīs. And they marched with speed. So, when the Ustājīlū Chiefs who were at Tabriz heard of this, they set out for Chukhūr Sa'd, and at Shurūr<sup>(2)</sup> Kupuk Sulṭān fell upon the Shāh's men with a thousand horse. Dīv Sulṭān was in the centre; Choha Sulṭān on the right; and Muḥammad Khān on the left. In the first attack Tāju-'d-dīn broke through; and behind him were Kupuk Sulṭān, Mantashā Sulṭān, Qazāq Sulṭān, Badr Beg, and the other Ustājīlūs. But in the battle Muḥammad Khān took the Ustājīlūs in the flank, and killed Kupuk Sulṭān, Tāju-'d-dīn Beg, Darwish Beg, and many other Ustājīlūs. But Mantashā Sulṭān and Qazāq Sulṭān broke through, and, with much toil, they got to Gilān. And the Royal army rejoined the Shāh's camp at the Zanjāna river with much booty.

*'Ubayd Khān's war with Akhī Sulṭān and Damrī Sulṭān ;  
their deaths.*

Now 'Ubayd Khān marched with a strong army against Astarābād, and Zaynal Khān's scouts, whose leader was Qiyāpāy Beg Ustājīlū, fought as men with him; but in the end they were overthrown. And Zaynal Khān took the families of his men, and turned towards Ray. Then 'Ubayd Khān entrusted the district of Astarābād to his son, 'Abdu'l-'azīz Sulṭān, and returned towards Balkh. And Zaynal Khān and Akhī Sulṭān joined Pir Qulī Sulṭān, whom the Shāh had sent to help them, and returned to Astarābād. And 'Abdu'l-'azīz fled before them to his father, and wept, and told him all that had come to pass. So 'Ubayd Khān marched on Bisṭām, and his advance

guards plundered the town. The Dārogha of that place killed an Uzbek, and bore his head to Astarābād. Now when Akhī Sulṭān heard of the Uzbeks in Biṣṭām, he armed himself and marched thither. And near the town he found 'Ubayd's army. Then Damrī Sulṭān would fain have gone into the city, and sent a messenger to the Shāh. But Akhī Sulṭān said that the foe should see nought of him but his sword and his bow. Then 'Ubayd arrayed his army, and put Qambar 'Alī on the left, and Zaynish Bahādur on the right; and 'Ubayd himself was in the centre. On the Persian side Akhī was in the centre, Damrī on the right, and Shāh 'Alī Beg on the left. But the Ghāzīs feared, as well they might, for they had but two thousand and five hundred horse, against more than twenty thousand. Then Damrī<sup>(3)</sup> pierced the centre of the foe, but a company of Uzbeks from the centre fell upon him, and drove him back with volleys. And Akhī Sulṭān<sup>(4)</sup> fell on 'Ubayd Khān, but he was driven back and wounded. And Damrī was slain; but Akhī was brought alive to 'Ubayd Khān. And he abused 'Ubayd, and, by his order, was killed. So when Zaynal Khān heard of this, he left Astarābād for Fīrūzkūh. And 'Ubayd appointed Zaynish Bahādur, Governor of Astarābād. And he himself went towards Herāt, and wintered at Ghūriyān.

*The war<sup>(5)</sup> of Sulṭān Sulaymān with the Frankish infidels.*

Now Sulaymān Pādshāh of Turkey gathered an army, and set out for Hungary. And when they reached the Danube river, the Khwāndgār commanded that a bridge should be made, by which they crossed. And Ferdinand and the Bān of Transylvania gathered men together at the village of Mohacz, and put guns and gun carriages in front, and strengthened their position, and prepared to fight. And Ibrāhīm Pāshā,<sup>(6)</sup> the Grand Wazīr, was on the right wing, and on the left were Qāsim Pāshā and Farhād Pāshā and 'Alī Pāshā. And the earth trembled with the weight of arms, and the sky was shaken by the thud of hoofs, and the dust rose to heaven. And Ferdinand with his men fell on the left of the Turkish army, and reached the Khwāndgār's centre, overthrowing Ibrāhīm Pāshā. Then guns and muskets opened on the Franks, and Sulṭān Sulaymān fell upon them. And, after much fighting, the infidels gave way, and were pursued by Farhād Pāshā with the army of Anatolia; and many were slain. Then the infidels, thinking that men coming towards them were a

Turkish army, broke, and were pursued and slaughtered. The Turks took much booty, and made for Būda, the chief town of Hungary. And the son of Ferdinand sent offerings to the Khwāndgār, and yielded up the city. So the Khwāndgār bestowed upon him the government of the land, and returned to Constantinople.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year, at the summer quarters of Guzīl Dara,<sup>(7)</sup> on Thursday the seventh day of Shawwāl Dīw Sulṭān Rūmlū was killed<sup>(8)</sup> by the instigation of Choha Sulṭān; his army was given to one of his retainers, whose name was Sulaymān Beg Rūmlū. And Choha Sulṭān became Wakīl. The winter was spent at Qazwīn.

*A.H. 934.*

*The siege of Herāt by 'Ubayd Khān.*

Now Ḥusayn Khān strengthened the walls and ramparts and gates, and repaired the roads and passages at Herāt, while 'Ubayd Khān wintered in the district of Ghūriyān. All the spring equinox 'Ubayd camped at the village of Shāmiyāna near Herāt. And, twice or thrice, the Uzbeks attacked the city; but it was strong, and it was bravely held. Therefore 'Ubayd was fain to cut off its supplies. It is said that a man was taken who had brought in a little salt; and they put him to a shameful death. And for four months 'Ubayd Khān was near Herāt; and his men attacked, but were made to return with loss. Then Yārī Khān, the Amīru'l-umarā, came from Bukhārā, and opened his mouth against 'Ubayd, saying that the town should be assaulted and taken. And he went out, with certain of the leaders, to see the barricades of Bābā Ilāhī, and he came to the barricade which was over against the Khākistar tower. And he left his men, and was shot by a gun-man, and his head was cut off and taken to Ḥusayn Khān, together with his gear. In his pocket a seal was found, and it read, when impressed on paper, 'the Servant, Yārī bin Jān Wafā Mīrzā.' At this time one of his attendants came into the city to find out about his death, and, having found out how it was, returned. On the same day there came a man from Zaynīsh Bahādur from Dāmaghān, telling of the death of Zaynal Khān. And 'Ubayd Khān was pleased, even as his friends had never seen him



pleased before. But, before the day ended, his joy was changed to sorrow.

Now when the siege had lasted many days, and hunger was in the city, Ḥusayn Khān, having taken counsel, commanded that the folk of the middle class, and such as were not known as Shī'as, should be turned out of the city. So the city became empty, and no man was seen in the bāzārs. And there was no salt, for a Herātī maund was sold for three hundred dīnārs. And rich men would hide a piece in their turbans, to rub on their tongues when they ate. And seven months passed in dreadful siege, till it was heard that the Royal army was at hand, and that Zaynish Bahādur, 'Ubayd Khan's Governor of Dāmaghān, had been slain. Then 'Ubayd marched from outside Herāt, and fled. •

*The war of Zaynish Uzbek with Zaynal Khān and Jigarga Sultān.*<sup>(1)</sup>

This year Zaynish Bahādur left Dāmaghān for Fīrūzkūh, and there he appeared when Zaynal Khān and Jigarga Sultān and Muṣṭafā Sultān had gone a hunting. And there was a hard fight. And Zaynish was unhorsed, and a Ghāzī thought to kill him, but he refrained, because of the meanness of his body. So Zaynish mounted on another horse, and escaped. And he was surrounded by other Uzbeks, who drove off the Ghāzīs, and killed Zaynal Khān and Jigarga Sultān and Muṣṭafā. So Zaynish sent their heads to 'Ubayd Khān, and returned to Dāmaghān.

*The killing of Ibrāhīm Khān,*<sup>(2)</sup> *and the conquest of Baghdād by*  
*Zu'l-faqār.*

Zu'l-faqār bin Nukhūd Sultān, the Governor of the Kalhūrs, in his madness and his folly, attacked his uncle Ibrāhīm Khan, the Governor of Baghdād, at his summer quarters at Māhī Dasht. Now Ibrāhīm, though men warned him, sat in his office; and Zu'l-faqār came with two hundred men to the Khān's camp. Then Ibrāhīm hid in his harīm. But Zu'l-faqār brought down his tent, and slew him, and cut up five or six of his retainers. And most of his servants followed Zu'l-faqār. At that time Sayyid Beg, the son of Sayyid Kamūna, came with four hundred horsemen, and they were constrained to join Zu'l-faqār's army. And Zu'l-faqār commanded his servants to shave off their eyebrows and their moustaches. And from thence he went to

Baghdād, and laid siege to it, and took it. And he slew all his own people, and became the ruler of all Arabian 'Irāq.

*A.H. 935.*

*The battle of the Shāh with the Uzbeks at Jām.*

Now there was joy and gladness every day when the Shāh made Kharqān his summer abode. But from Khurāsān couriers kept acoming, saying that 'Ubayd Khān, that rebel, was stirring up mischief and trouble. Then the Shāh's anger was kindled, and he commanded that the army should pass over to Khurāsān to chastise the proud wrong doers. And he sent heralds throughout the land to gather his soldiers. In the beginning of the month of Ramaẓān he pitched his camp at Chaman-i-makhūr,<sup>(1)</sup> and by the time of the 'Īd he reached Sārū Qumish.<sup>(2)</sup> And, when the camp was outside Sulṭān Maydānī, it was heard that Zaynish Khān trusted in the strength of the fort of Dāmaghān. So Choha Sulṭān and Ulma Sulṭān and Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadar were commanded to march with speed on Dāmaghān; and the Shāh would follow. And Dāmaghān was attacked, and Zaynish fled within the fort. And the Chiefs came round about it, and Ustād Shekhī the gunner, with Rūmlū musketeers, climbed a plane tree hard by, and made a place of defence, and caught the enemy with musket fire. And oft-times Zaynish came out, but he gave his men to be killed. So, seeing that all the ways of escape were shut, he tied a rope to his waist at night, and came out. But the Ghāzīs came to know of it, and caught him, and made an end of his life. And the army took the fort by assault, and all the Uzbeks were put to the sword. And it was the news of this that made 'Ubayd Khān leave Herāt for Samarqand, and supplicate the Chiefs of Transoxiana for help.

Then the Shāh left Dāmaghān and reached Kālpūsh. And there he heard that Qambar 'Alī and a body of Uzbeks were at Isfarāīn. So he sent Choha Sulṭān, Ḥamza Sulṭān, and Ḥusayn Sulṭān, against him. And Qambar 'Alī fled to Transoxiana. And the great Chiefs went as far as Khabūshān, and returned from thence. And the Shāh reached Mashhad, and visited the Imām's tomb. And there he heard of the coming of 'Ubayd Khān. Then he sent fourteen qurchīs forward to get news; and they fell in with four hundred enemy horse, and took captive some of them. Next day the Shāh sent Ulma Sulṭān and Zu'l-Qadar Muḥammad Khān to get news of the enemy.

And they met the Uzbek chiefs, and returned, for they deemed it unwise to fight with them. And the next day the Uzbeks reached the defile of Zirābād near the Persian camp. The day after the Shāh got himself ready for battle. On the right and left wings were Choha Sultān Takalū, Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū, Tabarruk Khān Shāmlū, Ḥamza Sultān Zu'l-Qadar, Ḥamza Sultān Takalū, Aḥmad Sultān Ustājlū, Aḥmad Sultān Afshār, Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadar Ūghalī, Pīr Qulī Sultān Shāmlū, Ya'qūb Sultān Qājār, Muḥammad Sultān Sharafu'd-dīn Ūghalī, Ḥasan Sultān Dūrghūd Ūghalī, Malik Beg Tundkhūy. In front of the army were wagons with guns and cannon.

And 'Ubayd Khān had gathered a mighty host, more than had ever crossed the Oxus since the coming of Chingīz Khān, from all Transoxiana, Kāshghar, Turkistān, Andijān, Utrār, Ṣabrān, Qābil, Tarfān, Ghilmān, Qāzāq, and the plains of Qipchāq and Qirghiz. In the centre were 'Ubayd Khān and Kūchum Khān; on the left Burāq Khān, Fūlād Sultān, 'Abdu'l-'azīz Sultān, and 'Abdu'l-laṭīf Sultān; on the right Jānī Beg Sultān, Kildī Muḥammad Sultān, 'Abū Sa'īd Sultān; and in reserve were Sūnjuk Muḥammad Sultān, with Qambar 'Alī Beg, Shekh Darwīsh Beg, and Rustam Qulī Beg. Ṭabal Khwāja and Qarāja Bahādur were sentinels. And other Chiefs were Kaskan Qarā Sultān, Qumish Ūghalan, Tinash Beg, Sayyidam Mīrzā, Chaghatāy Bahādur, Biyāqū Bahādur, Ḥāfiẓ Qunqurāt, Shekh Abū Sa'īd Afrāsiyāb; these took their own places. Then Jānī Beg, with a company of Uzbeks, fell upon the Takalū Chiefs, and the Qizilbāshes were overthrown and Muḥammad Sultān Sharafu'd-dīn Ūghalī was unhorsed, but an officer remounted him, and Ḥasan Sultān Dūrghūd came to help him. But in the end the Takalū Chiefs fled; and Jānī Beg pursued, and fell upon the camels in the camp bāzār. The men of the bāzār plied their bows, but the greater part was wounded and killed. And the Chiefs of the left wing also fled, and Ya'qūb Sultān Qājār and Malik Beg of Khūy stayed not till they reached Dāmaghān and Samnān. And all this time in the centre the Shāh held firm; though the gunners and musketeers in front could not fire, for the Uzbeks came not from the front. And the dust was thick so that men could not tell friend from foe. Then, when it lifted, a white Standard was seen; and beneath it was 'Ubayd Khān. So men were sent against him and Kūchum Khān. And though he fought bravely he was constrained to fly.

It is said that, when the Qizilbāsh army fled, the Uzbek Chiefs came to 'Ubayd Khān to tell the glad news. But he said, 'I see from afar a blackness that standeth in its place and moveth not. Surely it is the remnant of the Qizilbāsh army. Let men go and bring me word how the matter is.' They said the Qizilbāshes were overthrown, nor could they have remained, perchance it was the baggage animals. And men were sent, and straightway they knew it was an army. And they returned and reported how it was. Then the Shāmlūs and Zu'l-qadarīs and others came to the fight. So 'Ubayd turned to flee. And one of the Royal qūrchīs got to him, and smote<sup>(3)</sup> him on the back with his sword; but, because of the meanness of his body, he escaped. But he fainted from the young man's blow. And one of those near went before him, and one drove his horse. Then another qūrchī reached him, and would fain have made an end of him. But Ṭabal Khwāja, the Chief of the Stables, turned away that qūrchī's arrow. And 'Ubayd Khān and Kūchum Sultān hardly escaped from that whirlpool. And the army of the foe turned its back, though it was as twenty to one.

Then the Shāh dismounted, and his qūrchī braves came round him. And he lay down to rest. And Jānī Beg Sultān and many Uzbeks, who had gone in pursuit, came, thinking it was the camp of 'Ubayd. And the Shāh mounted his horse again and fell upon them, though Choha Sultān, in unmanly fashion, pleaded that they should await those of their men who had fled. Then, hearing of 'Ubayd's flight, Jānī Beg also fled; and he lost many men in the pursuit. And the Uzbeks hamstrung their horses, and mounted on camels. And it is a wonder that 'Ubayd had brought forty learned men from Transoxiana to pray for his success, and all these were slain in the battle.

So the Shāh stayed in that place for some days. And he restored Herāt to Ḥusayn Khān, who had shown bravery. Thereafter he left for 'Irāq, for he heard that Zu'l-faḡār had rebelled at Baghdād. Yet he abode some days at Nayshāpur, and sent the news of his victory throughout the world.

*The capture of Mashhad by 'Ubayd Khān.*

Now, some months after the Shāh had left, 'Ubayd Khān sent Šūnjuk Muḥammad Sultān and 'Abdu'l-'aziz Sultān, with six thou-

sand Uzbek horsemen, against Mashhad. Ahmad Sultān Afshār, Ya'qub Sultān Qājār, and Āghziwār Sultān<sup>(4)</sup> Shāmlū were in that province with three or four thousand Ghāzīs. They came out of the city, and met the Uzbeks, and drove them as far as Turuq; and some they slew, and brought their heads to the city. For two months such fights there were. The Chiefs defended the city to the utmost, till 'Ubayd Khān himself appeared. Then the Ghāzīs were afraid, for the battlements of Mashhad were not completed. And that night the gunmen feared, and came to the Chiefs, saying, that 'Ubayd Khān had come for vengeance, and they could not withstand him. And, when they fought, the Uzbeks took the barricades, and the army of Khurāsān feared, and fled by night. And 'Ubayd sent men after them, but they could not catch them, though some of the Qizilbāshes were taken. Then 'Ubayd entered the city, and put to death about three hundred Ghāzīs. And he handed over the city to one of his retainers, and returned towards Herāt. And Husayn Khān and his nobles, knowing how small were the stores, inclined to peace; and, with the approval of Khwāja Ishāq Siāwushānī, it was agreed that 'Ubayd should retire certain marches, and they should remove from the city their wives and children and goods, and go to a safe place, unpursued. So all the Ghāzīs and Shī'as left Herāt for Sīstān. And, when they came near that land, they were met by presents from Malik Sultān Maḥmūd. And, hearing that the men of Bīst Warza had rebelled, and had taken to robbery, Husayn Khān and his Shāmlūs fought with them, and took away their goods. And they heard that in the land of Kech Makrān<sup>(5)</sup> was much wealth, and that Malik Dīnār, the Governor of that land, was poor and harassed. So they plundered that land, and set out for Shīrāz with great booty.

*The capture of Herāt by 'Ubayd Khān.*

Now, after the Ghāzīs had gone, 'Ubayd Khān entered Herāt, and became Sultān thereof. And the Uzbek rabble and exiles from Samarqand did evil in Herāt; so that if they thought a man of Herāt had a little wealth they hauled him before the Qāzī, saying that he had cursed the Companions in the days of the Qizilbāshes. And the wicked Qāzī condemned him from the mouths of two false witnesses; nor made he any inquiry, but commanded that he be put to death. Such men the Muḥtasibs dragged to the Square, and killed

them, even as thieves. Many Sunnīs were killed for their money as Shī'as, and many Shī'as were left unhurt because they were poor. And among those slain was Mawlānā Hilālī.<sup>(6)</sup>

*The Shāh's expedition against Baghdād, and the death of Zu'l-faḡār.*

With a vast host the Shāh set out for Baghdād, leaving his summer quarters at Jurbādaqān;<sup>(7)</sup> and in the way others joined him. And there was a great heat, for the sun was in the sign of Cancer. When the Shah came to Baghdād Zu'l-faḡār forgot his duty, and they fought. And after some days 'Alī Beg, the grandson of Šūfī Khalīl Mawṣilū, and his brother Aḥmad Beg, servants of Zu'l-faḡār, on Thursday, the third day of Shawwāl, fell upon Zu'l-faḡār, and cut off his head, and brought it to the Shāh. So Baghdād was taken. Then the men of Zu'l-faḡār plunged into the Tigris, and many were killed. And the Shāh made 'Alī Beg an Amīr, and gave him Jurbādaqān for his fief, and made Muḥammad Sulṭān Sharafu'd-dīn Governor of Baghdād and a Khān. And he entered Baghdād, and proclaimed that no man should molest the Moslems. And envoys from the Arab chiefs brought greetings and gifts.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the winter quarters were at Qazwīn. After the taking of Baghdād the Shāh turned to Persian 'Irāq. And he made Amīr N'imatullāh Hīllī joint Ṣadr with Amīr Qiwāmu'd-dīn.

*Deaths.*

Mawlānā Hilālī wrote qaṣīdas, ghazals, and maṣnavī verse, in a style simple and elegant. Envious men charged him with having attacked 'Ubayd Khān in a quatrain; moreover he was rich. So the wicked Khān put him in prison, and, having tortured him much, had him killed in the Square at Herāt, though he had also praised him in verse. He wrote a dīwān of odes, The King and the Cat, Laylā and Majnūn, and The Qualities of Lovers.

*A.H. 936.*

*The Shāh's expedition to Khurāsān.*

Now 'Ubayd Khān set out for Farah. And Aḥmad Sulṭān, the Shāh's Governor, was besieged. But 'Ubayd found it hard to take the

fort, and returned to Herāt. And there he heard of the coming of the Shāh. Therefore he left Herāt for Marv on the twenty-first day of Zi'l-hijja; and he sent envoys to stir up the princes of Tūrān. So the Khāns came in haste to Marv; Then Abū Sa'īd Khān,<sup>(1)</sup> the Lord of all the Uzbeks, said, 'We will not fight with the Qizilbāshes. Do thou fight with them with the army that thou hast, or be content with thine own land. For whensoever we have fought with the Qizilbāshes, we have seen nought but loss.'

So 'Ubayd Khān despaired of help, and, when he knew of the greatness of the Shāh's army, he fled to Bukhārā. And the Shāh, when he heard that 'Ubayd Khān had come again to Khurāsān and had taken Herāt, set out for Khurāsān with his army and Chiefs and arms. And envoys came from 'Ubayd with a letter. In it 'Ubayd, acknowledging a letter from the Shāh, expounded how the troubles of Khurāsān were because it had accepted the Shī'a faith. 'Ubayd had no object other than the peace of the land; accidents, such as that of the year before, were common in war; even the Prophet was wounded at Uḥud, but this was followed by many victories. The future would make up for the past; the flight from Herāt was as the flight of the Prophet from Mecca. Dūrmish,<sup>(2)</sup> who was one of his own officers, had so lived at Herāt that the people had forgotten Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā. In that King's time mosques were turned into stables and taverns; these mosques 'Ubayd had restored. If, in error any Muslim had been wronged 'Ubayd was responsible. His quarrel lay with those who had left the faith of their fathers and had accepted heresy and error and become Shī'as. 'The worship of any but God was infidelity. Such things the Shāh had done, yet he admonished them. 'Alī followed and accepted the earlier Khalifas; the Shāh's forefather Shekh Ṣafīy was a Sunnī; strange it was that the Shāh followed neither 'Alī nor his own forefather. Let them beware who accept heresy. Soon the Chiefs of Samarqand and Tāshkand and Turkistān, Andijān, Ḥiṣār-i-Shādmān, Balkh, Shiburghān, with mighty armies, would come. 'Ubayd had no quarrel with the Shāh if he followed his own forefather; but if he left the straight path, then 'Ubayd must fight. Thereupon the Shāh dismissed the envoys with a robe of honour, and they returned to 'Ubayd, who, when he knew that the Royal army was more than seventy thousand men, fled to Bukhārā. And the Shāh marched to Herāt, and took it; and he

left his brother Bahrām Mirzā there with Ghāzī Khān Takalū for his Adviser. Thereafter, on the sixteenth day of the first month of Rabī', he departed for 'Irāq. And, going through the dreadful desert of Ṭabas, he reached Isfahān.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Now, before the Shāh left for Khurāsān, he was at Sharafābād of Qāzwīn. The Ustājīlūs, namely Mantashā Sulṭān, Qazāq Sulṭān and Qāzūq Sulṭān, were received. This year, too, Dīn Muḥammad, the brother of Zaynīsh, came to Sābzawār with a thousand horse. But he was met by Āghziwār Sulṭān with a hundred horse, who killed him and some of his Uzbeks, and sent their heads to the Court. This year Ghiyāsu'd-dīn Maṣṣūr bin Amīr Ṣadru'd-dīn Muḥammad was made joint Ṣadr with Amīr Ni'matullāh.

*Deaths.*

Kūchum Khān bin Abū'l-Khayr bin Dawlat Shekh Ūghalan bin Īltī Ūghalan bin Fūlād Ūghalan bin Ayba Khwāja bin Taghtāy bin Balghān bin Shaybān bin Jūjī bin Chingīz, died at Samarqand, and his son, Abū Sa'īd, became Khān in his place.

Amīr Qiwāmu'd-dīn Ḥusayn Isfahānī was old and weak, and sometimes he fell into error, as in the matter of Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn Ḥāfiẓ Tabrizī and Mawlānā S'adu'd-dīn Khaṭīb. The Amīr made both expect to be Khaṭīb. When Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn went to the Amīr to state his case, the Amīr thought that he was S'adu'd-dīn, and said, 'The claim of Jalālu'd-dīn is without reason. If I lead him to hope that I will appoint him, it is because he has supporters. But be not troubled, for I will in no wise make him Khaṭīb.' So Jalāl knew what of a truth was in his mind, and ceased troubling about the Khaṭīb's place.

*A.H. 937.*

This year the Shāh would summer at Kundamān.<sup>(1)</sup> Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū came from Shīrāz, and he was honoured more than his peers. And Choha Sulṭān in anger plotted his death and arranged a feast. But certain of the Royal servants told Ḥusayn, and he came with armed retainers. Then Choha fled to the palace; and Ḥusayn pursued after him. And a fight was fought in the Shāh's tent; and two arrows shot by the Syrians hit the Crown. Zu'l-Qadar qurchīs



were on guard, and they joined the Shāmlūs. And a qūrchī of the Zu'l-Qadars, whose name was Maṣr, wounded Choha, so that he died. But the Takalūs kept secret his death, and Ḥusayn Khān Takalū, who was near the camp, came to aid them. And all night they fought, but the Shāmlūs could not succeed, and they fled, hopeless and with shame, to the city of Iṣfahān; and about three hundred young men were taken and killed by the Takalūs, who set up Shāh-Qubād, Choha's eldest son, to be Wakīl in his stead. And poison was in the hearts of the Takalūs and they were rebellious. Therefore the other tribes, Ustājlı and Rūmlū and Zu'l-Qadar and Afshār, perforce withstood them. And, after some days, there was battle between them hard, by the Imāmzāda Sahl 'Alī.<sup>(2)</sup> Then Yahyā Ūghalī, a well-wisher of the Takalūs, threw himself into the palace, seeking to bring the Shāh among the Takalūs. But, by the Shāh's command, he was put to death. Also the Shāh commanded the slaying of the whole tribe. So the Takalūs mounted, and went to the palace. But the qūrchīs fired upon them, and they fled, not laying hand to sword or spear; and many were slain; and Dūra Beg, their Qūrchī bāshī, was also killed. Then they fled through desert and waste, and reached Baghdād by way of Kurdistān, after toil beyond measure. There Muḥammad Khān Sharafu'd-dīn Ūghalī put Qudūz Sulṭān and others to death, and sent their heads to the Court. And the Shāh despatched a dress of honour to Ḥusayn Khān, and sent for him.

*Ulma Takalū goes to Turkey.*

Now Ulma, Governor of Ādarbāyjān, thought to become Wakīl in Choha Sulṭān's place, and he gathered seven thousand horsemen, and set out for the Court. The Shāh was camped near Qidar Payghambar,<sup>(3)</sup> and marched swiftly against him. So Ulma<sup>(4)</sup> feared, and threw himself into the fort, and took counsel with his friends. And they said that he should appease the Shāh, for it is folly to contend with kings. So he sent Urkamz Zu'l-Qadar with gifts to Court. But, after he had sent him, he was afraid; for how can one gather the harvest of good faith from the seed of wrong-doing? And presents came from Sulaymān the Khwāndgār. So, therefore, he set out for Turkey.

*The attack of the Uzbek Chiefs on Khurāsān.*

Qumish Ūghalan, Tināsh Bey, and Shekh Abū Sa'īd Afrāsiyāb crossed the river for a raid, and came from Sarakhs to Mashhad.

Mantashā Sulṭān was then Governor. He left for Nayshāpūr, and joined Āghziwār Khān. And they two fell on the foe, who could not withstand them, but fled across the black water. But Āghziwār and Mantashā came up with them. And they made the river their defence, and fired upon the Ghāzīs; and a company of them crossed again to attack. But Āghziwār fell on them, and slew some, and they fled and were pursued. Then the Chiefs returned to Mashhad. Thereafter they set out for the Court, whither they had been summoned.

*Miscellaneous events.*

The Shāh conferred the title of Amīru'l-umarā on Ḥusayn Khān and 'Abdullāh Khān Ustājilū, sons<sup>(5)</sup> of the sisters of the late Shāh. Winter quarters were at Tabrīz. There Urkamz Beg Zū'l-Qadar, who had come from Ulma, was burnt. This year the writer, Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū, was born at Qum.

*Deaths.*

Bābur Padshah bin 'Umar Shekh bin Sulṭān Abū Sa'id Mīrzā bin Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Mīrzā Mīrān Shāh bin Ṣāhib Qirān Amīr Timūr Gūrgān—most high-spirited and wise of the Sulṭāns of that family. Every year he spent seventeen thousand Tabrīz tūmāns in grants to the deserving, nor was any man turned away from his Court. He was forty-nine years old when he died, and had been King for thirty-eight years. His kingdom was at first Farghāna and Samarqand; and, when he lost Transoxiana, Qandahār, Agra, Lahore, Kābul, Delhi, and Badakhshān. He died at Āgra, and was succeeded by Humāyūn. When Muḥammad Zamān heard of his death, he rebelled. But the King attacked his camp on the Ganges river, and took him, and imprisoned him in a fort. After a time he escaped, and at last he came to the King's Court in destitution and was forgiven.

*A.H. 938.*

Now when Ulma reached Turkey he constrained Sulṭān Sulaymān to fight against the Shāh. So Fīl Pāshā was sent with Ulma and fifty thousand horse against Sharaf Khan, Ruler of Bitlīs. Sharaf Khān left his son, Shamsu'd-dīn Khān, at Bitlīs, and fled to the Shāh, who came against the enemy. And when the Turks heard of the coming of the Shāh, they despaired of taking Bitlīs, and

retreated. And Dīv Yādgār Rūjakī told the Shāh of the Turkish retreat at Qarā Tughūz Dara.<sup>(1)</sup> And His Majesty returned, and made Tabriz his winter quarters.

*'Ubayd Khān's siege of Bahrām Mirzā at Herāt.*

On the twenty-ninth day of Ramazān 'Ubayd Khān camped outside Herāt. And first he cut off the water, and prevented food from entering the fort. Then Ghāzī Khān commanded the needy to leave the city, and he appointed rough Turks at the gates and roads to find out the goods of the folk. And they tore up old pillows and coverlets, and searched for treasure and coin within them. From each family they took three hundred Tabriz dīnārs, and turned them out. And many Ghāzīs left Ghāzī Khān, and went over to 'Ubayd, who treated them well. And at that time he sent verses to Khwāja Amīr Beg, the Wazīr of Ghāzī Khān, who answered in spirited lines. Then Ghāzī Khān commanded that search should be made in the houses of those that had left. And the Ghāzīs and cruel Turkmāns searched, and whatsoever they found they took. And there was famine, and men ate the flesh of cats and dogs, and boiled old leather and ate it; and they fed their asses on leaves. But the Uzbeks, unknown to 'Ubayd Khān, would sell lean horses to the garrison. Then the Ghāzīs grew weak, and could not walk save with sticks. And one day when Bahrām Mirzā sat with Ghāzī Khān, there came two men of repute before him; and each claimed the body of a dog, saying he had killed it. And Ghāzī Khān arose, and cut the dog in two, and gave half to each.

Then Kaskan Qarā Sultān and Jānī Beg Sultān, Governor of Balkh, came to help 'Ubayd Khān. But they made friends with the Qizilbāshes, and sent to Bahrām Mirzā a fatted lamb and a colt. And their servants brought horses, and gave them to the Ghāzīs. So, therefore, 'Ubayd sent envoys to urge peace. But Bahrām Mirzā and Ghāzī Khān demanded that he should withdraw two marches, and let them go to 'Irāq. But he would not, saying that they should pass below his tent-ropes. Then after some days, Atālīq Abū Sa'id, the King of Samarqand, came, and spoke of peace; but it was vain. So, when the siege had lasted a year and a half, the coming of the Shāh was noised abroad, and on the fourteenth day of the first Rabi' 939 A.H. 'Ubayd Khān fled.

*The war of the Ghāzīs with the Uzbeks.*

The Uzbeks fell upon Bistām. And Zū'l-Qadar Sulṭān,<sup>(2)</sup> Governor of Dāmaghān, sent to the camp of the Girāylis<sup>(3)</sup> for help, and they joined him. They fell upon the Uzbeks, and overthrew them; and Qarā Ḥaydar slew many with the sword; and certain men they took, and sent them to the Court.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Maṣṣūr was dismissed from being Ṣadr, and Amīr Muizzu'd-dīn Muḥammad Iṣfahānī was set in his place. Aḥmad Beg Nūr Kamāl was made Wazīr of the Dīwān. Amīr Qiwāmu'd-dīn Ja'far of Sāwa, the Shāh's Wazīr, was killed at Ribāt-i-Nikpay.

*A.H. 939.*

Early this year on the fourteenth day of Sha'bān Qumish Ūghalan Uzbek fell upon the camp of Muḥammad Khān Zū'l-Qadar Ūghalī, who was at Chaman-i-Makhūr in Sāwukh Bulāgh and carried off his kit. So the Shāh set out for Astarābād with Badr Khān. When Ilqās reached Bistām, he thought good to march with speed on Astarābād. So Badr Khān and Ilqās, with fifteen hundred horsemen, marched; and before dawn they reached Astarābād, and caught the greater part of the Uzbeks returning from the baths, and slew them. And Qumish Ūghalan hardly escaped to Marv. The Ghāzīs slew five hundred, and also his four brothers, and sent their heads to the Court. And Ilqās and Badr Khān abode at Astarābād.

*The third expedition of the Shāh to Khurāsān and the flight of  
'Ubayd Khān.*

Now the Shāh set out for Khurāsān. Ṣūfiyān Khalīfa Rūmlū with two hundred horsemen moved from Zāwiya-i-Karkh<sup>(1)</sup> towards Sabzawār, where was Khān Kildī Uzbek with four thousand. The Ṣūfis made attack by night, and killed one hundred and fifty Uzbeks, and set out for Nayshāpūr. And they overcame the Uzbeks there, and went towards Mashhad. In that province was 'Abdu'l-'azīz Sulṭān with eight thousand horse. At that time Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū, Āghziwār Khān Shāmlū, and Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū<sup>(2)</sup> parted from the Shāh, and went to help Khalīfa. So 'Abdu'l-'azīz fled to Herāt; also 'Ubayd fled, as has been written. On the twenty-second day of

the first Jumādā, the Shāh entered Herāt, and abode in the City Garden. And he received the chief men. Then he punished Ghāzī Khān and his servants, for that they had spoiled the people in the days of the siege. And Ḥusayn Khān, Mantashā Sulṭān, and Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū, were sent to conquer Gharjistān. And they subdued that land and returned.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Again Ulma attacked Bitlis.<sup>(3)</sup> And Sharaf Khān, with Ḥasan Beg Chōta, and Qilij Beg Pāzūkī, and the Chiefs of Kurdistān, fought a brave fight at Nahī, and drove back the foe. But Sharaf Khān was killed, and Ulma conquered Bitlis. This year the Shāh forbade<sup>(4)</sup> all breaches of Islamic law, and he stopped fermented drink and music, and did away with taverns and gambling dens and brothels. Herāt was given to Sām Mirzā, and Āghziwār Khān Shāmlū was made his guardian. On the eleventh day of Zī'l-qa'da the Shāh left Herāt, intending to attack Balkh. And for forty days he stayed at Ulang-i-Nishīn.

*Deaths.*

Abū Sa'id Khān bin Kūchum Khān bin Abū'l-Khayr died at Samarqand; and his brother, 'Abdu'l-laṭīf Khān, took his place.

*A.H. 940. First expedition of Sulṭān Sulaymān against Ādarbāyjān.*

Now Ulma kept sending messengers, saying that the Shāh was afar off in Transoxiana. And the Sulṭān hearkened to his words, and got ready his armies, and set out for Tabrīz, and sent in advance Ibrāhīm Pāshā, the Grand Wazīr, with ninety thousand men. And Ibrāhīm sent Ulma ahead with ten thousand. Then Khwāja Shāh Qulī, the Wazīr of Mūsā Sulṭān,<sup>(1)</sup> together with Aḥmad Ṭabasī, sent envoys to the Turks, calling them to Tabrīz, and agreed with Ulma and noised it abroad that Pīra Sinān Ūghālī was coming at daybreak to the city. So the Ghāzīs and townsfolk hastened to meet them, and Ulma and the Turkish leaders entered the city. Then Ibrāhīm Pāshā and his nobles arrived near Tabrīz, and sent Ulma towards Ardabil, and Khusraw Pāshā to capture the fort of Alanchiq.<sup>(2)</sup> Thus they took most of the cities of Ādarbāyjān. But soon after the news came that the Shāh was coming with his army from Khurāsān, and had reached Ray. And Ibrāhīm Pāshā was afraid and sent to the Sulṭān, saying that Mūsā Sulṭān had left Tabrīz and gone to 'Irāq but

that the Shāh was coming and they could not withstand him. Then Sultān Sulaymān purposed to attack Tabrīz, and he joined Ibrāhīm Pāshā. And they turned towards 'Irāq.

Now the Shāh heard of the Turkish attack when he was yet at Ulang-i-Nishīn. And he marched against the enemy, and sent Mantashā Sultān and Ūghalan Khalifa, Qūrchibāshī, ahead to be the advance guard, and himself too marched against the foe. They reached Kabūd Gumbad<sup>(3)</sup> in twenty-one marches, though many beasts perished. But the Chiefs were afraid at the presence of Sulaymān, and because of their own weariness, and the smallness of their army, which did not exceed seven thousand men. And Ghāzī Khān was at variance with the other Chiefs. Then Bahrām Mirzā, Ilqās Mirzā, and Husayn Khān were sent forward towards Tabrīz. The Royal Camp reached Qazwīn, and then set out for Abhar. And when they came to Qarā Āghāch they met Ibrāhīm Pāshā and a battle began. Now certain of the Chiefs—Husayn Khān and Ghāzī Khān and Malik Beg of Khūy were rebellious, and therefore there was no great combat. But Bahrām Mirzā and Amīr Sultān and Sulaymān Sultān strove with them till nightfall. And when the Shāh heard of the quarrel of the Chiefs he set out to stop it by his authority. And at this time Zu'l-Qadar Ūghalī Muḥammad Khān showed his inborn wickedness, and because of the enmity that he had in his heart on account of his father, blind Shāhrukh, he joined Qīyā Sultān and Husayn Sultān, son of Burūn Sultān Takalū, and left the Shāh. And this thing ruined the army; for the Shāh no longer trusted any of his Chiefs. And he put off battle for some days.

But when the Khwāndgār reached Sultāniyya the winter set in early, and many beasts and men in the Turkish army perished. And the Sultān gave up his plans, and set out for Baghdād. Then the Shāh marched from Qarā Āghāch and camped at Ribāṭ-i-Dāng,<sup>(4)</sup> and crossed over to Darjuzīn. At that village Alwand Khān Afshār joined the camp with a thousand horse. And the Shāh sent Maḥmud Āghā Ūchibāshī to take prisoners to tell how the matter was. At Kalakan of Kharqān the Ghāzīs came up with the enemy, and caught five men, and took them to the Court. From them it was learned that the Sultān was making for Baghdād,<sup>(5)</sup> and had sent Ulma to Tabrīz. Therefore the Shāh marched against Ulma. And Ghāzī Khān Takalū rebelled and fled to Tabrīz, and told Ulma how the

Shāh was coming. So they took refuge in the fort of Wān. And the Shāh came against Wān. And when they fought a certain man, whose name was Dīv Muṣṭafā, came out of the fort and challenged the Qizilbāsh soldiers. And Dalv, the Standard-bearer, came from the Persian army. And they fought. Then a certain Dīv Tarkhān came to the help of the Persian, whereat Dīv Muṣṭafā fled back to the fort. For the rest of the winter they dwelt beneath the fort, while the Khwāndgār went to Baghdād. Muḥammad Khān Sharafu'd-dīn Ūghali, being ordered by the Shāh, left Baghdād. For Ibrāhīm Pāshā had sent messengers from Mawṣil to Muḥammad Khān, speaking of peace, and saying that he should give up the fort. But Muḥammad Khān would not, but took counsel with the Takalū leaders. And they would not go to the Shāh, but fortified the Madrassa, and rebelled. Then Muḥammad Khān thought to attack them, but Sayyid Beg Kamūna permitted it not. And Muḥammad Khān was afraid, and sent a company of archer qūrchīs with Budāq Beg and Kupuk Ālān with the keys of Baghdād to the Sulṭān. And he himself broke the bridge and fled with much toil to Baṣra and Dizfūl. And Sulṭān Sulaymān would have wintered at Mawṣil, but the servants of Muḥammad Khān, who brought the keys, took him to Baghdād, and he wintered there.

*Miscellaneous events.*

At Khabūshān Ṣūfiyān Khalifa Rūmlū's Ṣūfis fought with Darwīsh 'Alī Mughūl, who had come to plunder, and slew one hundred and fifty men. And they made a night attack on Sayyidam Mirzā in the fort of Kalāt, and slew many Uzbeks. But, when they were returning, they lost two hundred men, who fell down a hill. And, knowing how they were weakened, eighteen hundred horsemen of Darwīsh 'Alī fell upon them. But these they overthrew, killing four hundred.

*Deaths.*

Shekh 'Alī bin 'Abdu'l 'Ālī Mujtahid<sup>(6)</sup> died on Saturday, the seventeenth day of Zi'l-hijja. Among his works are a commentary on the Alfiya; Risāla-i-Ja'fariyya; a commentary on Irshād; Hāshiya-i-Sharāyi'; Sharh-i-luma'a.

Ḥusayn Khān bin 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū, brother of Dūrmish Khān, became Wakīl after Chōha's death. This year the Shāh turned from

him, and his evil works made him hate him the more. Such was the plot to poison the Shāh contrived by Bāshadan Qarā, a Shāmlū and a friend of Ḥusayn Khān. But the Shāh, by his shrewdness, or by inspiration from above, came to know of it. Then that bad man fled to Transoxiana, when he knew that his plot was known. And many said that this evil thing was ordered by Ḥusayn Khān; and the Shāh believed it. Moreover, by the temptation of Satan and his own selfish lusts, he tried to make men favour the making of Sām Mirzā king. The Shāh sent him away to scout, and Ḥasan Āghā, his servant, told the Shāh that he would join the Turkish army. So the Shāh sent for Ḥusayn, and signalled for him to be cut to pieces. And his army was given to Bahrām Mirzā, and his head was fixed on a spear by Qambar Ūghalī, and taken through the camp.

Amir Ni'matullāh, a Sayyid of Ḥilla, was thought by some, and boasted himself to be, a Mujtahid, but the learned did not accept him. He was so sharp of wit that men above him in the ranks of learning could not meet him. Oft-times would he argue, on a matter of which he knew nought, in such fashion that men thought him an adept therein. He was a pupil of 'Alī bin 'Abdu'l 'Ālī, the Seal of the Mujtahids. But he requited his teacher with evil. And he went to Shekh Ibrāhīm Qatīfī for certain subjects of jurisprudence because the 'Seal' hated Qatīfī. Once, with the support of certain retainers and nobles, he was fain to argue with the 'Seal' regarding Friday prayers without an Imām or a Deputy Imām. And in this matter there were with him certain learned men, such as Qāzī Musāfir<sup>(7)</sup> and Mawlānā Ḥusayn of Ardabīl, and others who were at enmity with the 'Seal'. And Chiefs and Ministers, such as Maḥmūd Beg, the Keeper of the Seal, and Malik Beg of Khūy, supported him. At this time wicked men threw a writing with charges against the 'Seal,' in the writing of an unknown person, behind his house near the Naṣariyya retreat in Ṣāhibābād of Tabriz. And the Shāh tried to find out the writer; and it was found that the Mīr had knowledge of this. At last his feud with the 'Seal' led to his being banished, and made to go to Baghdād. And the Governor of that place, Muḥammad Khān Takalū, was commanded to prevent his meeting with Shekh Ibrāhīm Qatīfī and the other enemies of the 'Seal.' And the 'Seal' and the Mīr died within ten days of one another.

Now the Shekh's power to work miracles can be seen in such a



matter as this. Maḥmūd Beg, the Keeper of the Royal Seal, was, on a Friday evening, playing at polo in the Ṣāhibābād square. The 'Seal' was cursing his wickedness, and reciting the prayer attributed to the Imām 'Abdullāh al-Ḥusayn, and had not finished the second prayer, but was at the words 'His death is nigh, and his son is orphaned' when Maḥmūd Beg, as he played, fell from his horse, and was killed.

Mawlānā Lisānī's<sup>(8)</sup> poetry is well-known. He died this year and was buried at Surkhāb.

*A.H. 941. Second attack of Sulṭān Sulaymān on Ādarbāyjān.*

Now when the Sulṭān was free of Baghdād he turned again to Ādarbāyjān, and the Shāh left Wān and set out for Tabriz. And there Malik Beg of Khūy, the last of the traitors, was punished. One Dīv Khurram left the Sulṭān, and brought news of the Turkish army to the Shāh. The Shāh set out for Sulṭāniyya, and reached Darjuzīn, from whence he sent Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū and Chirāgh Sulṭān Ustājilū to spy out the Sulṭān's position. They reached the Turkish camp at a village of Darjuzīn, and were attacked. Only the men of Amīr Sulṭān, to the number of two hundred, fought bravely. The Chiefs drove their horses against the Turks, and overthrew a number, and cut off their heads, and took them to the Shāh, unpursued. And when Sulṭān Sulaymān heard that so small a number of Qizilbāshes fought thus, it was a grief to him. And he rebuked his Chiefs saying, that they could not take even two hundred Qizilbāshes. And he passed by Darjuzīn to return to Turkey. Then the Shāh sent Bahrām Mīrzā, Mantāshā Sulṭān, Amīr Sulṭān, Shāh Qulī Khalifa, Keeper of the Seal, Muḥammad Amīn Beg Sufrachī, and a company of footmen and gate-keepers, after Ibrāhīm Pāshā, and himself made for the fort of Wān, where were the Sulṭān's men who fled on the Shāh's approach. On the twentieth day of the first month of Rabī', the Shāh entered the Wān meadows, and took the fort. The Sulṭān had sent Muḥammad Pāshā, Āmiru'l-umarā of Diyārbakr with a company of Chiefs, such as Ulma Takalū, Rustam Beg, Dīv Parwāna, Aḥmad Beg, Muṣṭafā Beg, Badr Beg, Idrīs Pāshā, and Malik Uways Sulṭān, and two thousand Janissaries and ten thousand horsemen to help the defenders. On the afternoon of Thursday, the twenty-fourth day of the first month of Rabī', they were met at Wustān by a company of

Turkmān qūrchīs, who killed certain of them, and caught three persons, and sent them to the Shāh. And they came as he was mounting his horse. He set out for Wustān, and found that the enemy had gone to Kawāsh.

And he followed by that hard way and overtook them on a mountain. And with him were but two thousand men; for the rest had slept on the way. Then Ulma said they could not fight with the Shāh, or withstand him; but Muḥammad Pāshā agreed not, but prepared to fight, and kept his Janissaries in front of the line. And in the meantime Budāq Beg Wakil Zu'l-faqār by God's grace fled from among them, and came to the Shāh. Then Ghāzī Khān Zu'l-Qadar<sup>(1)</sup> with a company of Turkmān and Zu'l-Qadar qūrchīs attacked the Turks, and slew four hundred in the twinkling of an eye and cut off their heads, and cast<sup>(2)</sup> them before the Shāh's horse. And he captured others, such as Dīv Parwāna and the Khwānd-gār's Qūrchībāshī, and Muhiy(?) Chalabī. The rest were pursued as far as Bitlis, and the Ghāzīs took all their gear. Then Bahrām Mirzā and other nobles set out for Arjish,<sup>(3)</sup> and the defenders of that fort engaged them. The Ghāzīs killed about twenty; but the rest entered the fort and sent to the Sultān for help. So the Sultān sent Sinān Pāshā, Darzī 'Alī, Hāji Pāshā, and Yahyā Beg, the Amīr of the Sanjāq, with many men to help them. But Budāq Khān Qājār met their army and overthrew it. And Sinān Pāshā and a hundred men were killed, and their heads taken to the Wān meadow. Then the Sultān sent the best of his army under Ibrāhīm Pāshā, who sent a party to fight with Bahrām Mirzā. But they were overthrown, and certain men were captured and taken to Bahrām Mirzā. Thereupon Ibrāhīm left the fort, and retreated; and the Shāh conquered the districts of Wān and Arjish, and entrusted the government of that country and the kōtwālship of the fort to Aḥmad Sultān Šūfi Ūghalī.

*The rebellion of Sām Mīrzā and Āghziwār, and their going to Qandahār, and their defeat at the hands of Mīrzā Kāmran.*

Now, after the Shāh left Herāt, Sām Mīrzā and Āghziwār ruled. And Āghziwār strove to improve the army and the people. And after about six months news of the death of Ḥusayn Khān and the ruin of the Shāmlūs reached Herāt. And Āghziwār feared that it would be for him as it was for Ḥusayn Khān. At this time Bāshadan

Qarā and Yūzī Qarā fled from Transoxiana to Sām and Āghziwār and stirred them up to rebel. So their men robbed houses and, with the Khān's leave, took what they saw and tortured men for what was buried. And on the fifteenth day of Sha'bān they set out for Qandahār, leaving at Herāt Khalifa Sulṭān, Chief of the Stables, and Maḥmūd Beg and Ummat Beg. At Farah, Murād Sulṭān, being forced to meet Āghziwār, was slain.

Now, when they reached Qandahār, Khwāja Kalān,<sup>(4)</sup> Mīrzā Kāmran's Governor, took the people into the fort, and strengthened its towers and ramparts. And Sām and Āghziwār besieged it. Then Khwāja Kalān came out to give battle, but Āghziwār slew many of his men, and drove the remnant to the gates of the fort. And when the siege had lasted for some time Khwāja Kalān sent for help to Mīrzā Kāmran who was at Lahore. So Mīrzā Kāmran went to Humāyūn Pādshāh, and gathered an army from the land of Hindūstān, and set out for Qandahār. And they came to Kābul, and Qarāja Beg was sent ahead. And from thence they marched against Sām Mīrzā and Āghziwār. And the Qizilbāsh army had gone back a day's journey. Then Mīrzā Kāmran gathered together his leaders and took counsel with them. And Khwāja Kalān was for battle, and all the leaders agreed. So Mīrzā Kāmran marched from outside Qandahār against the camp of Sām Mīrzā, seven leagues from Qandahār. And Sām Mīrzā placed Āghziwār on the right wing, Lāl Sulṭān Afshār on the left, and himself in the centre. On the other side Mīrzā Kāmran with twenty thousand men was over against Sām Mīrzā, with whom were but two thousand. And Āghziwār attacked Khwāja Kalān; but because of the strength of his body he received no great hurt. Then Sām Mīrzā fell upon Qarāja Beg, the leader of the left wing, and drove him back; but he, when he came to the centre, returned and attacked. Āghziwār came to help the Prince, but his horse's leg stuck fast in a hole, and, though he plied his spurs, it could not get it out. And a certain man of the Chaghatāy army saw him and threw him from his horse, and brought him to Kāmran Mīrzā, by whose command he was killed. So when Āghziwār was slain Sām Mīrzā lost heart and fled to the hot country. And after so great a victory Mīrzā Kāmran returned to Lahore. And Sām Mīrzā put to death Bāshadan Qarā and others of the rogues of

Yūzī Qarā and sent their heads to the Shāh, and asked for pardon, saying that they had stirred him up and he repented.

*The battle of Ṣūfiyān Khalīfa with 'Ubayd Khān's Chiefs.*

This year Shekh Abū Sa'īd Afrāsiyāb, and Qarāja Bahādur, and Sayyidam Mīrzā, with four thousand and five hundred horse, came; and Ṣūfiyān Khalīfa met them near Zāwa and fell upon them, coming by a circuitous path. And the Uzbeks were overthrown, and two hundred and fifty were slain. Shekh Abū Sa'īd hid himself in a hole, and got a horse from the headman of Jām and fled away to Bukhārā. And Ṣūfiyān Khalīfa set out for Khwāf and overthrew a body of a thousand Uzbek horse sent by 'Ubayd to plunder that country, and killed two hundred of them.

*Bayrām Ūghalan makes attack on Khurāsān; his war with Khalīfa Sulṭān Shāmlū; the Ghāzīs are overthrown.*

Now when Sām Mīrzā and Āghziwār departed for Qandahār, Khalīfa Sulṭān Shāmlū, being then more than eighty years old, sat on the throne of State; and Maḥmūd Beg and Ummat Beg had fitting posts. Then the weakness of the first, and the wickedness of the other two, were spread abroad. So Bayrām Ūghalan, the Governor of Gharjistān for Kaskan Qarā Sulṭān bin Jānī Beg Sulṭān, gathered an army and marched to plunder the country of Herāt. And he got much booty. Then the headmen and Wazīrs and Chiefs took counsel together. Maḥmūd Beg thought it good not to leave the city, but Amīr Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Amīnī and others agreed not with this wise plan. And it was commanded that the headmen of the city and the district should gather armed men to join the Ghāzīs. Ibrāhīm and Shāh Muḥammad Jāmaḇāf and Shādī Muḥammad 'Asas marched out on the nineteenth day of Zi'l-qa'da, while Maḥmūd Beg was left with a few men to guard the city. Near Istifzār,<sup>(6)</sup> being ten legal leagues from Herāt and in the country of the Herī River, they saw the enemy. Then those who had wished Khalīfa Sulṭān to go out repented and were afraid. And Bayrām Ūghalan fell upon them; but Khalīfa Sulṭān's men were from the district and mean, and they trusted not their leader; wherefore they shrank from fighting. And Khalīfa Sulṭān, Amīr Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Amīnī, and nine hundred men, were slain. And Bayrām Ūghalan cut off their heads and departed for

Gharjistān. And this year the Shāh wintered at Tabriz. And he put to death Alwand Khān Afshār.<sup>(6)</sup>

*A.H. 942. Şūfiyān Khalīfa Rūmlū goes to rule over Herāt.*

After this Ummat Beg and the men of Marv sent to call Şūfiyān Khalīfa Rūmlū, Governor of Mashhad. And, leaving his son and followers in Mashhad, he departed for Herāt, and entered therein on the fourth day of Muḥarram and was met by Maḥmūd Beg and Ummat Beg and the Ghāzīs and citizens, and camped in the City Garden. But, after the toil of the road, evil men got hold of him, and he did evil and his officers tyrannized over the people, saying that every ear of corn had many grains. And he sent for persons who had, as he supposed, goods, saying that last night one of the Holy Imāms had appeared and had said "Such an one has money; it should be taken for the Ghāzīs." And the fool would weep, so that men thought his words were true. Then they took the man, and tortured him and took the money from him. So, when the Shāh heard of the wickedness of Şūfiyān Khalīfa, he dismissed him from the governorship, and appointed Sulṭān Muḥammad Mirzā, with Muḥammad Khān Sharafu'd-dīn as his guardian.

*The war of Şūfiyān Khalīfa Rūmlū with 'Ubayd Khān, and the defeat of the Ghāzīs.*

Then 'Ubayd Khān crossed the Oxus, and set out for Mashhad. When the citizens heard of this they applied themselves to strengthening the fort, and the wife of Şūfiyān Khalīfa laboured beyond measure. For she visited the towers and ramparts day and night. When 'Ubayd Khān brought war to the gates his men were smitten by the Ghāzīs and the citizens and went back. And, when Şūfiyān Khalīfa heard that Mashhad was besieged, he departed from Herāt, leaving there Khizr Chalabī, his agent, and the fool Nūru'd-dīn Muḥammad Iṣfahānī, commanding them to collect four Tabriz tūmāns from each man, before he, Şūfiyān, returned. At Fūshanj<sup>(1)</sup> Şūfiyān filled a bag with straw, saying he would stuff 'Ubayd's skin with it, when he took him. And 'Ubayd doubted whether to meet him or not, not wishing to do so because he was a Chief of the Shāh. Furthermore he had heard that he was mad, and his madness increased in battle; nor cared him for great numbers, but oft-times,

with two or three thousand, he had overcome the Uzbek armies. And 'Ubayd took counsel with his Chiefs. And some said, "Fight not with one of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's Chiefs. Why hast thou left Bukhārā to take his land?" Then 'Ubayd set out against the camp of Ṣūfiyān Khalifa. And Ṣūfiyān fell in with certain Uzbeks, and killed thirty, and camped at 'Abdulābād. Then an Uzbek chief, who had been taken, admonished him, saying that he should return to Herāt, for 'Ubayd Khān had a host beyond number, nor could he withstand him. But he hearkened not. Now, on the morning of Thursday, the twentieth day of Rajab, 'Ubayd Khān appeared. In the van were 'Abdu'l-'azīz Sultān, 'Ubayd's son, and 'Alī Sultān, and Aqsh Sultān. And Sūnjuk Muḥammad Sultān and a company of Uzbeks attacked Ṣūfiyān Khalifa's camp. And he went to meet them, like a man who thinks to dam the ocean with a handful of dust. And he went alone with five or six men to behold 'Ubayd's army, but 'Alī Sultān Khwārazmī shot an arrow at his horse and made him go back to his men. Then 'Ubayd Khān moved from the centre, and fell upon him; and the battle began. And his men could not withstand the Uzbeks, and the fool, with a few men, flung himself into the deserted village of 'Abdulābād. And 'Ubayd Khān surrounded it. The Ghāzīs ate their horses; but the Uzbeks, after thirty-five days' siege, pushed forward their ramparts, and made shelters, and took that place. And Ṣūfiyān Khalifa was carried alive to 'Ubayd Khān, and he handed him over to be killed to Tinash Bey, whose son had been killed in a fight with Ṣūfiyān's men. One who was present says that when he was being carried off on the horse of an Uzbek Ṣūfiyān Khalifa hid his head behind the Uzbek's back, and they could not raise it to see his face.

*The capture of Herāt by 'Ubayd Khān from Khiz̄r Chalabī.*

After Ṣūfiyān Khalifa's departure from Herāt Nūru'd-dīn Muḥammad Iṣfahānī robbed the people. And they rode against him, and killed him in the baths. When news of Ṣūfiyān Khalifa's defeat came, Khiz̄r Chalabī and Amīr Ḥasan Qāzī strove to strengthen the city, and gathered together the citizens and men of the districts for the city's defence. But most of them were against them, especially Khwāja Aḥmad Ziyāratgāhī, and his brother Khwāja Mubārak, and Khwāja Qāsim. For Ṣūfiyān Khalifa had set up a

gibbet in the Square, whereon to hang them, but he could find no occasion. Khwāja Mubārak spoke to Khizr Chalabī and Amīr Ḥasan Qāzī, urging them to rebel. And one day Muḥibb Mikāl, the Kalāntār of the city, sent a man secretly to Khwāja Aḥmad, asking for men to help him against Khizr and Amīr Ḥasan, and saying that ‘Ubayd Khān should be sent for. But the secret became known to great and small. And Amir Abū Ṭāhir, son of Amīr Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Amīnī, heard of it, and told Khizr Chalabī, who sent for the rebels. So Khwāja Mubārak fled; but Muḥibb Mikāl was taken, and a most shameful death was his. And the Chiefs of Herāt, though they had not been with them, were imprisoned in the fort of Ikhtiyāru’d-din. Then the men of the district rebelled, and made for the Fīrūzābād gate, and hearkened not to Khizr Chalabī, when he sent messengers to admonish them, but attacked. And a certain miller smote upon the gate with his sword. But the swords of the Ghāzīs made their sedition abate; and they fled and sent to call ‘Ubayd Khān. And while he was coming, certain traitors came to the gate, and fought, but they were overcome by the Ghāzīs, and put to flight. On the eighteenth day of Ramaẓān ‘Ubayd Khān appeared outside Herāt, and camped in the Garden of Desire. And Khizr Chalabī set Ummat Beg at the ‘Irāq gate, and himself stayed at the head of the defenders with certain Rūmlū Ghāzīs, being ready to drive back the Uzbeks, wheresoever they appeared. Then ‘Ubayd Khān surrounded the city, and cut off the entrance and exit thereof. But when the Uzbeks came to the moat the Ghāzīs drove them back by musket fire, and Khizr Chalabī and Amīr Ḥasan Qāzī fought from morn to eve. Thus the fight lasted for about a month. But at last Abū Ṭāhir, the son of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Amīnī, who had in his charge the defence of two towers of the Khush gate, and was at enmity with Amīr Ḥasan Qāzī, sent secretly to ‘Ubayd Khān, saying that, if he would give him a fitting post, he would let the Uzbeks in through the tower that was entrusted to him. So, on the twenty-seventh day of the month of Ṣafar, 943 A.H., when a third of the night had passed, he destroyed the battlements of the tower, and set a ladder there, and brought about three hundred Uzbeks within the fort. And the Ghāzīs fell on them; but the Uzbeks prevailed, and reached the gate, and opened it and let in their comrades. And the army of Transoxiana entered the city, and began to plunder the people. And Khizr Chalabī and

his men were besieged in the Ikhtiyār fort. Then the Uzbeks took whatsoever they could find; and they tortured the folk to make them give up buried things. So that the cry of great and small went up to heaven; nor was the honour of the fair ones safe for an hour from the savage Ūzbeks. But 'Ubayd Khān sent Tinash Beg within the city to keep the Turks from robbing Moslems. And he came into the city, and made a proclamation that none should enter a house to plunder. So the place was made quiet. Then the men of the district seized Amīr Ḥāsan Qāzī, and threw him into a fire. And 'Ubayd Khān conquered Khurāsān, and slew all the Ghāzīs and Shī'as that he could find, and turned to the fort of Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn. And his envoys swore to protect Khizr Chalabī and Ummat Beg, and to touch no man's goods or family, if they handed over the fort and the goods of Šūfiyān Khalifa. So some left the fort of their own will, and others were forced. At that time he sent his son Muhammad Raḥīm<sup>(2)</sup> with a company of rogues to the men of the fort; and they stretched forth their hands against the goods of the men of the fort. Straightway 'Ubayd Khān came, and he shot with an arrow one of the men of Muḥammad Raḥīm. Then Khizr Chalabī and Ummat Beg came stripped, with their sons, and wives, to Sulṭān Ḥusayn's Rawḥa college. And 'Ubayd Khān sent them to Bukhārā, and they were all slain no long time after. And every day he had five or six men put to death in the Square for Shīism. And whatsoever villager or citizen was at enmity with a man, he took him, and brought him before the Qāzī, saying, This man, also, cursed Abū Bakr and 'Umar and 'Uṣmān in the days of the Qizilbāshes. And the Qāzī commanded him to be put to death on the word of two ignorant fellows; and they dragged him to the Square, and put him to death. And their wickedness and their plundering were great in the land of Khurāsān.

#### *Miscellaneous events.*

The Shāh's winter quarter were at Tabriz.

#### *Deaths.*

Pādshāh Sulṭān Khalīl<sup>(3)</sup> bin Shekh Shāh bin Farrukh Yasār bin Amīr Khalīlullāh bin Amīr Shekh Ibrāhīm bin Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Kayqubād died on the ninth day of the first month of Jumādā leaving no sons. He reigned for twelve years in Shīrwān; and after his



death, Shāhrukh bin Sulṭān Farrukh bin Shekh Shāh, who was a minor, reigned.

Şūfiyān Khalifa Rūmlū came from Sīwās, and ruled some years in Khurāsān. He had killed four thousand and eight hundred Uzbeks in battle. On Mondays, Tuesdays, and Fridays, he spent on the twelve Imāms, twelve maunds of sugar for sweetmeats, thirty maunds of honey for sweetmeats, two hundred cones of sugar, twelve sheep with their trappings, and two thousand dīnārs in cash.

Muzaffar Sulṭān,<sup>(4)</sup> Governor of Resht, left his province treacherously when the Turks invaded Ādarbāyjān, and went over to the Sulṭān. When they left, he set out for Gilān. In his absence Amīra Ḥātim, his officer, conquered Resht. And a hard battle took place between them at the village of , and Ḥātim had the victory, and Muẓaffar Sulṭān, in sore pain, got into a ship, and wandered about the sea for some time, till he fell into a whirlpool at Bākū. Sulṭān Khalīl, Governor of Shīrwān, brought him to his place and tended him. And Sulṭān Khalīl was involved in his fall. The Shāh's men seized and brought Muẓaffar to Tabrīz. Then the Shāh ordered the city to be adorned; and singers met him and brought him in, and at last he was put in an iron cage, and burnt.

Amīr Sa'du'd-dīn Ināyatullāh Khūzānī was distinguished above all the Wazīrs for his strength of judgment. This year the Royal anger was kindled against him, because 'Īsā, son of Bāsiliq Beg, was reported to have approached him with seditious purpose. And therefore by the Shāh's command, on the day Muẓaffar Sulṭān Gilānī was put in the cage, he was hung underneath the cage, and both were burnt together.

Mawlānā Ahli<sup>(5)</sup> of Shirāz died at Shirāz this year. Among his poems is a reply to Khwāja Salmān Sāwajī's "Ornate Qaṣīda," and a dīwān of ghazals.

*A.H. 943. The fourth invasion of Khurāsān by the Shāh.*

Now this year messengers were ever coming, telling of 'Ubayd Khān's evil deeds, and the Shāh was angered, and he planned to set out for Khurāsān. He sent ahead Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū, Şadrū'd-dīn Khān Ustājilū, and Sulṭān 'Alī Ṭāṭī Ūghālī and Ghāzī Khān Zu'l-Qadar from Shirāz, and Shāh Qulī Khān Afshār from Kirmān, and Ḥusayn Jān Sulṭān Rūmlū, and Budāq Khān Qājār, and nobles from all the

provinces, joined the Royal camp. The Shāh moved in the direction of Nisā and Abiward. Then Amīr Sultān Rūmlū, and Shāh Qulī Khalifa, Keeper of the Seal, set out for Ṭabas fort, where was Sām Mīrzā. And Sām Mīrzā was brought to Court, and forgiven; but some of his men were killed.

*The coming of the Shāh to Khurāsān and the flight of 'Ubayd Khān.*

After he had lived in Herāt for fourteen months 'Ubayd Khān thought to take Mashhad, and, leaving Darwīsh Beg, one of his Chiefs, at Herāt, he marched. And, when he reached Bākharz district, he heard that the Shāh had moved towards Khurāsān. So he sent out men to inquire, and they caught a certain man bearing a letter from a noble of Mashhad to his friend in Herāt, wherein it was written that Shāh Ṭahmāsp had come to Khurāsān and was moving towards Herāt. So 'Ubayd returned straightway to Herāt. The same news was given by a Qizilbāsh, caught by his patrols at Dara-i-gaz. And 'Ubayd Khān gathered together his Chiefs and said they should wait and fight with the Qizilbāshes, who had come in the midst of the summer, and they would overthrow them, for they had suffered much at Nisā and Abiward.<sup>(1)</sup> But the Chiefs said they should leave Herāt and go to Bukhārā, and, if he agreed not, they would seize him and bear him off to Transoxiana. So on the seventeenth day of Sha'bān, when the sun was in Aquarius, they fled towards Bukhārā by an unknown way through Balkh. And, after they had fled, the Shāh came and camped in Sāq-i-Salmān; and next day came to the city by the Avenue, and sat on the throne of Khurāsān.

*The expedition of the Shāh to the Land of Dāwar and Qandahār,  
and the conquest of that country.*

At the end of the winter the Shāh left Herāt to attack Qandahār leaving Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā and Muḥammad Khān at Herāt. He set out on the tenth day of Zi'l-qa'da. At the Helmand they crossed, some by rafts and some by swimming. And by the Royal command Amīr Sultān Rūmlū set out for Qandahār. When Khwāja Kalān heard of the coming of the Persians he left Kachī Khwāja, one of his relations and a trusty officer, at Qandahār and himself went to Sind, and when the Royal army came near Kachī Khwāja and the

nobles went to meet them and were received. And that province was given to Budāq Khān Qājār, and the Shāh returned to Herāt with much booty. There envoys from 'Ubayd Khān and Kaskan Qarā, the Governor of Balkh, were received, and returned home. And this year Muḥammad Khān<sup>(2)</sup> bin Uways Khān, and his brother 'Alī Sulṭān, descendants of Chingīz Khān, came to Court, and were given the territories of Nisā and Abīward and their dependencies.

And before the Shāh left for Khurāsān Bahrām Mirzā<sup>(3)</sup> had been sent to be Governor of Gilān. For, when Kār Kiyā Sulṭān Ḥasan died Khwar Kiyā Ṭāliqānī, the Wakīl of Sulṭān Ḥasan, came to Court and agreed to conquer Gilān. Therefore the Shāh sent Bahrām Mirzā with many men to Gilān. But the Mirzā, by the advice of fools, stayed six months at Daylamān. Meanwhile Kiyā Khwar Kiyā, with five hundred bold men, threw himself into Lāhijān. And Bahrām Mirzā came to Lāhijān, and eighteen Gilān Chiefs came to his Court, and most of the country fell to him. Then Kiyā Khwar Kiyā Ṭāliqānī, who was much thought of by the Gilān folk, was seized by Bahrām Mirzā. So the people rose against the Mirzā, and he was overthrown and went to his summer quarters at Daryāwuk; and, a few days after, he went to Qazwīn. And Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū, the writer, was in Qazwīn then, for Qazwīn had been given as a fief to Amīr Sulṭān. So the writer and his mother went to meet Bahrām Mirzā, and gave him tents and money, fine horses, and stuffs, as presents. The leading men also made him offerings.

This year the Shāh dismissed Amīr Muizzu'd-dīn from being Minister, and gave his place to Amīr Asadullāh, a Sayyid of Shūshtar.

The death of Khwāja Kalān Ghūriyānī was also a thing that then came to pass. When 'Ubayd Khān came to Ghūriyān, the Khwāja had met him with flattery, and spoke ill of the Shāh. And this being reported to the Shāh, he commanded that he should be put to death. And he was dragged to the Market Square at Herāt and flayed, and his skin was filled with straw, and set upon a post.

This year Kār Kiyā Sulṭān Ḥasan bin Kār Kiyā Sulṭān Aḥmad bin Sulṭān Ḥasan bin Kār Kiyā Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Nāṣir Kiyā bin Amīr Sayyid bin Mahdī Kiyā, died of plague, and Amīr 'Abbās, his minister, made his son, Khān Aḥmad, a child one year old, sit in his place.

*A.H. 944. Return of the Shāh from Khurāsān.*

Now when the affairs of Khurāsān were well dealt with, the Shāh returned, and early in the second month of Jumādā arrived near Tehrān. Then it was commanded that Amīr Qiwāmu'd-dīn Nūr Bakhsh<sup>(1)</sup> should be taken. For he had left his darwīsh state and did evil, and lived as though he were a king, hunting with hounds and cheetahs and shutting himself within his house. And whosoever was displeasing to him was slain. So, when the King's camp was hard by the shrine of 'Abdu'l-'aẓīm he came to Court and took his seat above all others. And the men of Ray, who for many years had endured his oppression and were come to despair, complained. Then Qāzī Muḥammad, son of Qāzī Shukrullāh asked him if he were a darwīsh or a king, and how it came about that he slew men so that they forgot 'Ubayd Khān and Qāsim the executioner, and he began to number the men that he had slain. Mīr Fayẓi also, the Marshall of the Court, questioned him, asking why he sat above the son of Sayyid Muḥammad Kamūna. And the Shāh said:—"He saith right. Rise, for this is not thy place." Thus the Shāh came to know that he was an impostor, and commanded that he should be seized. And he was imprisoned for some days in the house of Qāzī-i-Jahān, and from thence he was sent to the fort of Alanchiq. Early in the month of Rajab the Shāh went to Qazwīn, and in the middle of Sha'bān to Tabriz.

*The Chiefs attack the fort of Ustā and take Khwāja Kalān.<sup>(2)</sup>*

Khwāja Kalān, son of Khwāja Malik Khānī, held the fort of Ustā, and he harassed those that passed by. Therefore, Ghāzī Khān Zu'l-Qadar, Shāh Qulī Sultān Afshār, and 'Alī Sultān Ṭātī Ūghālī, were sent with an army to take the fort. Three months they fought from morn till eve. Then a certain man of those trusted by Khwāja Kalān, having quarrelled with the Khwāja, fled to the Chiefs, and offered to show a way which only he and Khwāja Kalān and two others knew. Let them attack that night and engage the foe; let them give him qūrchis. So they sent 'Alī Bayāt and other Ghāzīs with that man, while the rest fought. And the Ghāzīs entered the fort. And when the men of the fort knew of this they were beside themselves; and they fought, and Khwāja Kalān, having killed two or three Ghāzīs, was bound and brought down, and his men were slain.

And they sent him to Tabrīz, and the Shāh hung him from the Naṣariyya minaret, and he died miserably.

*Events in Shīrwān.*

This year a Qalandar arose, saying he was Sultān Muḥammad bin Shekh Shāh. And he gathered together an army and took Sāliyān, and from thence came to Shamākhī. Then Shāhrukh fled to the fort of Bīqrid, and the Qalandar conquered Shamākhī. And when he left that place for a purpose Shāhrukh pursued after him, and met him and overcame him and took him and had him slain with clubs.

Mawlānā Ruknu'd-dīn Mas'ūd-i-Kāzarūnī was a learned physician, but sometimes he did contrary to the rules of science, and his changes were good. But he was ever wont to interfere in political affairs. This year the Minister, Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad Iṣfahānī, had a desire in his heart which he could only gain by representing it to the Shāh. And the physician secretly informed the Shāh, who was angered and had the physician burnt and the Minister dismissed.

This year Kāmrān Mīrzā came to Qandahār with a great army from Hindūstān, and sent Qarāja Beg ahead. Budāq Khān Qājār sent Shāh Virdī Beg Ziyād Ūghālī to meet him. And they met near the city and fought, and Shāh Virdī, who had but few men, was taken. So Budāq Khān was constrained to ask for peace. And they made a treaty, whereby Qandahār was given to Kāmrān Mīrzā; and Budāq returned to the Shāh's Court. And Kāmrān treated Shāh Virdī Beg well, and let him go.

*A.H. 945. The rebellion of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Bitikchī<sup>(1)</sup> in Astarābād, and his capture by Ṣadru'd-dīn Khān's officers.*

Now this year Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, son of Khwāja Muḥaffar Bitikchī, gathered together a band of black robed men at Astarābād, and took certain towns, and sent presents to Khwārazm to 'Umar Ghāzī Sultān,<sup>(2)</sup> and asked for help. The Governor of Khwārazm gathered his tribesmen together, and set out for Astarābād, and was joined by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and his black robed men, who came from the forests of Jurjān. And when Ṣadru'd-dīn, the Governor of Astarābād, heard of this, he took counsel with his men, and they said they could not meet so many; it were better to leave Astarābād and go to Bistām, and send word to the Shāh. So they did so, and Ṣāliḥ

entered Astarābād; and 'Umar Ghāzī went back to Khīva, having given him the rule over that land. And when the Uzbeks went, Ṣāliḥ was drunk with pride and put a crown on his foolish head. And trustworthy men say that he divided the world amongst his friends, and they worshipped him; but about this division they quarrelled. And when the Shāh heard of this from Ṣadru'd-dīn he commanded that Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū, Shāh 'Alī Ustājīlū, Ḥusayn Jān Sulṭān Rūmlū, and Ḥasan Beg Shāmlū should go against Ṣāliḥ; and they set out. But Ṣadru'd-dīn marched of a sudden from Astarābād, and surprised Ṣāliḥ, who was busy with music and wine. And Ṣāliḥ fled to the forest, but Shāh Virdī Beg Kungurlū, one of the Khān's officers, caught him. Thus Ṣadru'd-dīn ruled again in peace. It is said that there was a Sayyid woman, the wife of a Herāt Qāzī, separated from her husband, and living at Astarābād with her mother. And her mother died; in the midst of her mourning she was seized and carried off to Ṣāliḥ's house. Nevertheless, Ṣāliḥ was a friend of learned men and poets, and Mawlānā Ḥayratī composed a qaṣida in his honour and received seven loads of silk and seven beasts as a reward. Ṣadru'd-dīn sent Ṣāliḥ to Tabriz; and they sewed up his mouth lest he should speak with disrespect. He was put in a cask, and was cast from the Naṣariyya minaret.

*The expedition sent by the Shāh to Shīrwān and the taking  
of Shāhrukh.*

Now the Shāh heard of the misrule of Shāhrukh, and of the wicked deeds of his Chiefs, and the thieving of his army, and the irreligion in that land, and the neglect of religious institutions. So, therefore, he commanded that Ilqās Mīrzā, Mantashā Sulṭān Ustājīlū, Sūnduk Beg Qūrchibāshī, Badr Khān Ustājīlū, Ya'qūb Sulṭān Qājār, Qarāwalī 'Arabgīrlū,<sup>(3)</sup> Muḥammad Beg Tālīsh, with the Qarābāgh<sup>(4)</sup> and Mughān army, and twenty thousand men of the Royal army, should go with Pādār Qūrchibāshī, who had come from Shīrwān and knew the ways to enter and to leave it, to take Shīrwān. So these Chiefs set out, and gathered together boats and crossed the Kur. And they came outside the fort of Surkhāb near Kilīd-i-Gilān. The fort was defended, but it was taken at the first assault and its men were captured and their goods were taken. Then men were sent against fort Qabalah, which also was taken with its garrison, three

hundred in number. And the Chiefs thought to conquer Gulistān, the strongest of the forts of Shīrwān. The Governor, Ni'matullāh Beg, was besieged. And the Chiefs left a company above the fort and turned to Bīqrid. Shāhrukh sent his Wakīl, Ḥusayn Beg, against the Persians, but he was overthrown at the valley of Bīqrid and took refuge in the fort. The Qizilbāshes took the fort of Gurjī, which is hard by Bīqrid fort. But Badr Khān would not suffer the Ghāzīs to enter Bīqrid fort, of which the gate had been left open, thinking that they would plunder. So the enemy was able to shut the gate and defend the fort. And wicked Shāhrukh and his foolish men, washing their hands of all hope of life, defended bravely for nearly four months, till at last the towers were destroyed by the guns. And at that time Darwīsh Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Shakī, gathered an army and came to the fort, thinking to fall on the Persians by night. And he beat his drums and raised his war cry, but Muḥammad Beg Shīr Bakht Ūghalī Ṭālīsh and certain qūrchīs withstood him, and most of his men were slain. So the men of Shīrwān lost hope that Darwīsh Muḥammad Khān would help them, and they offered to yield if the Shāh himself came. And a messenger was sent to the Court, and he reached it at Marand. Then the Shāh set forth and came to the fort. And the Shīrwānīs sent a man to certify that the Shāh had come. Next day Shāhrukh Ḥusayn Beg, Muḥammad Beg, and the Shīrwān Chiefs, came to the Shāh with gifts, and humbly handed over the keys of their gates and stores to the Royal agents. Shāhrukh, Ḥusayn Beg, and Muḥammad Beg, were imprisoned and the fort was ordered to be destroyed. On Friday, the third day of the first month of Jumādā, Ni'matullāh Beg, Commandant of the fort of Gulistān, came down and handed over the fort. On the seventeenth day Ḥusayn Beg of the Shīrwānīs was put to death and Shāhrukh was imprisoned and sent to Tabriz. Then tidings of the conquest of Shīrwān were published throughout the empire—in Ādarbāyjan, and 'Irāq, and Fārs, and Kirmān, and Khūzistān, and the shores of the sea of 'Umān. And the province was given to Ilqās Mīrzā, and the Shāh returned to Tabriz. One of the poets wrote a qaṣīda, giving the date in every line.

*Events in Khwārazm, and the war between Dīn Muḥammad Uzbek  
and the Chiefs of 'Ubayd Khān.*

This year the Khwārazm Sultāns put Sultān Ghāzī to death, wherefrom arose much confusion and many claimants. The sons of Ṣufiyyān Khān,<sup>(5)</sup> Yūsuf Sultān, 'Alī Sultān, Uways Sultān, Pahlawān Qulī Sultān, and Aqsh Sultān, took possession of the province of Khwārazm, and 'Umar Ghāzī, son of Sultān Ghāzī and sister's son of Burāq Khān, fled to Tāshkand and prayed for help from Burāq Khān, who came with 'Ubayd Khān and the hosts of Transoxiana in anger to Khwārazm. But Yūsuf was joined by his brothers and many men, and together they went to Urganj<sup>(6)</sup> and met the generals of 'Ubayd Khān and Burāq on the banks of the Oxus. And after a hard battle the Chiefs of Transoxiana fled. Then 'Ubayd left his son, 'Abdu'l-'azīz, at Urganj, and crossed over into Transoxiana with Burāq and 'Abdu'l-laṭīf Sultān. At the same time Dīn Muḥammad bin Alūsh Khān, Governor of Nisā and Abīward on behalf of the Shāh, came to the aid of Yūsuf Sultān, and putting on the Uzbeks the Ṣūfī cap noised it abroad that the Qizilbāshes had come and besieged the city. Hearing this, 'Abdu'l-'azīz sent a messenger to 'Ubayd Khān to ask for help. And 'Ubayd crossed the Oxus and raised the siege of Urganj, and reached Wazīr<sup>(7)</sup> and took it. Then, having given the governorship of that city to one of his generals, he returned to Bukhārā. And when he came to Hazārasp<sup>(8)</sup> he heard that Dīn Muḥammad had plundered Khīva. In anger he sent Darwish Beg to Khīva. And Dīn Muḥammad marched against him with Yaqa Turkmāns and 'Alī Īlīs,<sup>(9)</sup> and they met four leagues from Hazārasp in a flat place with a stream. Yūsuf Sultān, Dīn Muḥammad's advance guard, fell upon Qarāja Bahādur unawares, and took him and a number of his men, and pursued one regiment to the river. But 'Ubayd Khān's Chiefs held the bridge and fired upon them. So the Yaqa Turkmāns fled in panic, bearing off Dīn Muḥammad's standard; but Aqsh Sultān met them and turned them back. At this time Yūsuf Sultān, who had pursued after the fleeing foe, came; and straightway he fell upon 'Ubayd's generals, who were put to flight. And Laṭīf Mirak, Shekh Naẓar Beg, Tājī, the Chief Courier, Qarāja Bahādur Wakīl, and Ḥāfiẓ Qunqurāt, were taken, but Darwish Beg and Kupuk Sultān escaped. And 'Ubayd Khān heard of this at Hazārasp, and he mounted and fled to Bukhārā. Thus Dīn



Muhammad got a great victory. And he sent tidings thereof to the Shāh, who rejoiced and sent Dīn Muḥammad dresses of honour and an order for three hundred Tabrizī tūmāns to be paid yearly from Sabzawār.

*A.H. 946. The sending of Shāh Qulī Khalīfa, Keeper of the Seal, to Astārā.*

Now Amīra Qubād, the Governor of Astārā, showed the marks of revolt, and Shāh Qulī Khalīfa was sent by the Shāh with an army against him. And Amīra Qubād scattered his men in the jungles. But, before Shāh Qulī Khalīfa arrived, Sulaymān Beg, the Chief Gunner, with Amīr Ashraf, Mutawallī of Ardabil, and certain of his officers, camped at Arjuwān. And Amīra Qubād fell on him with horse and foot; but the Ghāzīs overthrew them at the first assault. Then Amīra Qubād threw himself into the forest. And the Ghāzīs pursued and slew eight hundred men and sent their heads to the Shāh. And the rule over that district was given to Bāyandur Khān.

*The Shāh's sending of Bahrām Mīrzā to ravage Kurdistān.*

This year Bahrām Mīrzā and Kūkja Sultān Qājār went forth to plunder Kurdistān. And the Governor, Sultān 'Alī Musallih, fled, and the Ghāzīs plundered the land, and, having got much booty, returned towards Tabriz. But in this expedition certain men showed somewhat of slackness; they were set upon asses and paraded in the bāzār, that others might take warning.

This year, too, Mahdī Qulī Sultān Afshār,<sup>(1)</sup> Governor of Shūsh-tar, rebelled, and strengthened the Shūshtar fort, and oppressed the people. So Ḥaydar Qulī Sultān Afshār was sent against him, and he besieged the city. Sūnduk Bahādur, the brother of Mahdī Qulī Sultān, slew Mahdī on Sunday, the twenty-first day of the month of Zi'l-hijja, and sent his head to the Court.

This year there was plague in Tabriz, and the Shāh left the city until it abated.

*The death of 'Ubayd Khān.<sup>(2)</sup>*

'Ubayd Khān, bin Maḥmūd Sultān bin Abū'l-Khayr Khān bin Dawlat Shekh Ūghalan bin Īlti Ūghalan bin Fūlād Ūghalan bin Ayba Khwāja bin Taghtay bin Balghān bin Shaybān bin Jūji bin Chingiz

Khān, was a king famous for polite learning, and for lack of real knowledge, hard hearted, but with some knowledge of the sciences, and in poetry unequalled. In Shaybak Khān's time he was Governor of Bukhārā. He overthrew most of Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā's sons. This year his heart was set on attacking Khurāsān and on plundering Moslems; but the Almighty brought him low by sickness, and he died. Khurāsān, ruined and deserted by reason of his attacks, bloomed again. He fought seven battles—against Kupuk Mirzā at Mashhad; Ibn Ḥusayn Mirzā near Sabzawār; Bābur at Ghujduwān; Akhī and Damrī Sultān at Bisṭām; Shāh Ṭahmāsp at Jām; Şūfiyān Khalifa at 'Abdulābād of Nayshāpūr. He suffered defeat only at Jām. His generals put 'Abdu'l-'azīz Sultān on the throne, and his other son 'Abdu'r-raḥim, submitted. His age was fifty-three; and he reigned for thirty years. His country was Bukhārā and the city of Kash; but his name was on the coins of all Transoxiana. After his death they struck coins in the name of 'Abdu'l-laṭif Khān bin Kūchum Khān.

Shāhrukh bin Sultān Farrukh bin Shekh Shāh bin Farrukh Yasār bin Amīr Khalilullāh bin Sultān Ibrāhīm bin Sultān Muḥammad bin Kayqubād—tracing descent from Nawshīrwān the Just—was this year put to death, and his life extinguished, by the Shāh's order.

Amīr Sultān Rūmlū, Governor of Qazwīn and Sāwukh Bulāgh died this year at Tabriz. His army was given to Pīr Sultān Khalifa—a simpleton. For the writer, his grandson, was busy with the duties of a qūrchī.

Mawlānā Ruknu'd-dīn Mas'ūd Kāshī of Shīrāz—but, since he lived for the most part at Kāshān, he was called Kāshī—was a pupil of Mawlānā Şadru'd-dīn 'Alī Ṭabīb. He became the Shāh's physician and was as a Galen of the time, or a Ptolemy. This year he died.

#### *A.H. 947.*

The Shāh's summer quarter were at Sūrluq. Ghāzī Khān Takalū deserted the Turks, and came to Court with five thousand men, and was given as fief Sāliyān and Maḥmūdābād under Shīrwān. The Shāh heard that Ḥājī Shekh Kurd<sup>(1)</sup> had gathered a band of robbers and rebelled. 'Abdullāh Khān, Shāh Qulī Khalifa, Keeper of the Seal, Ghāzī Khān Takalū, and Qarāwālī 'Arabgīrlū, were appointed to go against him. In the fight an arrow hit Maḥmūd Beg Khunuslū, and killed him, and the Kurds killed certain Ghāzīs. And

the Ghāzīs returned to the camp, for the place was strong and they could do nothing.

*First expedition of the Shāh against Georgia.*

This year the Shāh went against the Georgians<sup>(2)</sup>—hunting on the way to Bargshāt, and being joined by Chiefs and their forces from all parts. One night the Moslem army poured upon Tiflis,<sup>(3)</sup> and plundered the city, and took captive women and children. Gulbād the Georgian, one of the chief nobles of Lawāsān, took refuge in the Tiflis fort, asking for quarter. And he surrendered the fort, and became a Moslem. The Ghāzīs raided the country. Hīsh, who was one of the greatest Chiefs of Lawāsān, threw himself into the fort of Birtīs; but the Gabrs surrendered it, and those who accepted Islām were spared, and the rest were slaughtered. Then the army marched against the mountains of Didkū and Georgia, which they took, killing a number of the enemy in the passes of the hills; and the rest were scattered. Then the Shāh went to the Kur river, and Lawāsān, the Ruler of that land, fled to the hills and forests, and escaped. And the Shāh returned to Tabrīz.

*The march of the Chiefs to attack Rustamdār.*

Now this year Pīr Sulṭān Khalifa Rūmlū, Ḥusayn Jān Sulṭān Rūmlū, Shāh 'Alī Sulṭān Ustājlu, and Aḥmad Beg Turkmān, with an army, attacked Rustamdār. The Governor, Malik Jahāngīr<sup>(4)</sup> bin Malik Kāūs, took refuge in the Lārijān fort, and the Qizilbāshes attacked it. Then Aḥmad Beg entered the gate, and scattered the Rustamdārīs, and Malik Jahāngīr asked for quarter. But the Persian general, Pīr Sulṭān Khalifa, in his wisdom, went not to Aḥmad's help, but stayed in a garden eating apricots. And the Rustamdārīs, seeing that Aḥmad was without supporters, attacked him, and killed him and some of his men. Pīr Sulṭān Khalifa, being lacking in courage, returned.

*Miscellaneous events.*

For that many signs of disaffection on the part of Ḥasan Sulṭān<sup>(5)</sup> bin Amīr Abū Ishāq had been seen, Ghāzī Khān Zu'l-Qadar was commanded to go with the army of Fārs, and to seize him, and send him to Court. So Ghāzī Khān marched for Rīshahr,<sup>(6)</sup> and Ḥasan took refuge in the fort, which the Qizilbāshes besieged. And after some

days Amīr Sayyid Sharīf brought Ḥasan out of the fort, and Ghāzī Khān sent him to Tabriz, where he was killed by the Shāh's command. This year the Shāh summered at Sahand where Ilqās Mīrzā and Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Shākī, came to Court. Also Ghāzī Khān Takalū captured the fort of Bākū, and killed many of the defenders. The Shāh wintered at Tabriz.

#### *Deaths.*

Ghāzī Khān Zu'l-Qadar,<sup>(7)</sup> Governor of Shīrāz, died, and Shīrāz was given to Ibrāhīm Beg, son of Kachal Beg, who was made a Khān.

#### *A.H. 948.*

The Shāh went to Khūzistān because of the rebellion of Alā'u'd-dawla Ismā'īlī,<sup>(8)</sup> Governor of Dizfūl. When the camp reached Khurramābād, Jahāngīr<sup>(9)</sup>, the Governor of the Lesser Lurs, came to Court, and 'Alā'u'd-dawla fled to Baghdād like a gnat before the wind. The people came to meet the army, and handed over the fort, and the Shāh appointed Ḥaydar Qulī Sultān Afshār Governor. There, too, Sayyid-i-Sajjādīn Badrān Musha'shi', Governor of Ḥuwayza, came to Court, and was confirmed as Governor. The Shāh ordered Ibrāhīm Khān Zu'l-Qadar, and Ḥusayn Jān Sultān Rūmlū, to plunder the district of the fort of Bayāt.<sup>(10)</sup> And they did so.

When the Shāh had finished with Khūzistān, he went to Qum for the winter. From the Dizfūl expedition to the present time (which is the year of the Hijra 980) the writer was with the Royal camp in all its journeys, and saw most events with his own eyes.

Amīr Ṣadru'd-dīn Muḥammad, Amīr Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, Amīr Qamaru'd-dīn Muḥammad, and Abū'l Maḥāmid Luṭfullāh, were Ḥusaynī Sayyids, born at Askūya, near Tabriz. Their grandfather, Abū'l-Qāsim, had been a high placed Sayyid and learned man, honoured by the earlier Sultāns. These Sayyids had been for long in the Shāh's service, relied upon in matters of state, and greatly trusted. And all that they wished for was granted, and the Shāh and his nobles oft-times went to dine with them at Askūya, and convivial meetings were held. Yet they did not value these favours, and were ungrateful, and they did things which were improper. And the Shāh became estranged, and the nobles were able to make him turn against them. And Qāzī-i-Jahān who had raised them to this high estate

found it expedient to quarrel with them. And they secretly plotted, and thought to be Wakil and Ṣadr and Wazīr. At last a Royal command confined them to Askūya; yet were they given a worthy fief.

In the beginning of this year the envoys of the Uzbek Kings—Jahānchara on behalf of Kaskan Qarā Sulṭān, Ruler of Balkh, and Khudāi Virdi Beg on behalf of 'Abdu'l-'azīz, son of 'Ubayd Khān and Ruler of Bukhārā—came with presents to Court, and were sent back. And Ḥājī Āghā, Mihmāndār, was sent along with them.

### *Deaths.*

Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Maṣṣūr bin Amīr Ṣadru'd-dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī was a man learned in both theoretical and practical matters. Of this it is sufficient proof that in Shāh Ismā'il's time he was sent for to repair the observatory of Khwāja Naṣīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī in Marāgha.<sup>(11)</sup> But the Shāh did not approve of the time taken; for three years were spent before the cycle of Saturn was finished. The Mīr greatly feared the venereal disease, and would not shake hands with any man, or, if he did, he kept his hand in his sleeve. And if a man wished to injure another, he would suggest that he had this disease; and the Mīr inquired not whether it was true or not. When he was Minister, Qāzī 'Alī of Baghdād was the mainstay of his office. And one day Qāzī Musāfir, by way of joking said that Qāzī 'Alī had once had this disease. Next day Qāzī 'Alī came to the Mīr for his seal, with which to seal certain orders. Then the Mīr avoided him and shrank away, and the more he advanced the more the Mīr retreated, until they had gone the whole length of the hall. The Qāzī tried in vain to explain. The second time, when the Muḥtahid of the time heard of the Mīr's neglect of religious observances, and his contemptuous references to himself, he became his enemy, and their quarrel strengthened till there was no reason in it. One day at a meeting the Muḥtahid and the Mīr were present, and a subject of learned discussion arose, which led to quarrelling. But the Shāh took the part of the Muḥtahid, and dismissed the Mīr from his office; and he went to Shīrāz. And this year he died. Among his works are: Notes on the Hikmatu'l-'Ayn, Notes on the Zaurā, Akhlāq-i-Manṣūrī, Muḥakamāt, Notes on the Tajrid, Iṣbāt-i-wājib, Notes on the Sura-i-Hal Āti, The Mirror of Truths, Small tract on Astronomy, The Rays of Astronomy, Kifāya-i-Manṣūrī on accounts, The Gardens of Riḏwān,

The Right Hands of the Faith on Scholastic Theology, and The Proof of Guidance.

*A.H. 950.<sup>(1)</sup> The Shāh goes to Saraband<sup>(2)</sup> for the summer, and Dīn Muḥammad Uzbek goes to Astārābād.*

Early in the spring the Shāh left Qum for Saraband, and abode there some days. And he fell sick, but recovered. He heard that an army from Transoxiana thought to cross the Oxus. So Bahrām Mirzā, Badr Khān Ustājlu, Husayn Jān Sultān Rūmlū, and Budāq Khān Qājār, were sent to the summer quarters of Lār. And Bahrām Mirzā sent a minister, Khwāja 'Ināyatullāh, to raid Rustamdār. 'Ināyatullāh did this, and safely returned with booty. The Shāh sent 'Abdullāh Khān and Shāh 'Alī Sultān, to raid the settlements of the Kalhūrs.<sup>(3)</sup> Then the Chiefs plundered the settlements, and returned.

When news of the Shāh's illness reached Dīn Muḥammad Uzbek, he forgot his duty and marched against Astarābād. And the Governor of that place, Ṣadru'd-dīn Khan, sent a company from the fort; but the enemy was too strong, and they took refuge in the city. Then Dīn Muḥammad, not caring for a siege, returned to his own country. When Bahrām Mirzā and the Chiefs at Lār heard of this they sent Badr Khān, Husayn Jān Sultān, and Budāq Khān Qājār, with all speed to Astarābād. These returned to Lār, when they heard of Dīn Muḥammad's retreat.

*The war of the Turks and Georgians.<sup>(4)</sup>*

Sulaymān Sultān sent Mūsā Pāshā, Governor of Erzerūm, with sixty Amīrs of districts to take Georgia. The Turks set out for Dāwili. And King Buqrāt, who is also called Bāsh Āchūq, strengthened the fort, and left men there, and himself went to the hills and forests. Then the Turks besieged the fort, and in ten days they took it. From thence they marched to Ūltī and surrounded that fort, and made ready guns and muskets and engines of war against it. Then Bāsh Āchūq sent presents to Mūsā Khān, saying that if the Pāshā would depart he would hand over the keys to whomsoever he might appoint. And Mūsā trusted in his word, and departed to go to Erzerūm, leaving his guns to follow. But the Georgians fell upon the officers left with the guns and slew them almost all. Then they pursued after the Pāshā, and when they came up with him they fell upon

him in the morning and overcame him. So they killed Mūsā and many Turks, and plundered their camp. And when news of this reached Āmid,<sup>(5)</sup> Khādim 'Alī Pāshā, with the army of Diyārbakr, marched with speed on Georgia. But, when they found that the Georgian Chiefs had gone to their own country they returned to Āmid.

Now, when the Sultān heard of the victory of the Georgians, he sent Mutamarriḍ 'Alī Pāshā and a large army to Georgia. And they met the Georgians at the village of Qānlū Chamanī.<sup>(6)</sup> And in the fight the Georgians took the flag of Dalw Bahā'u'd-dīn Kurd; but he retook it. And, after much fighting the Georgians were overthrown and fled. And the Turks returned with much booty.

This year the Shāh wintered at Qazwīn.

*A.H. 951. The coming of Humāyūn Pādshāh<sup>(1)</sup> to the Persian Court.*

This year Humāyūn Pādshāh took refuge with the Shāh. For Shīr Khān Afghān rebelled and met Humāyūn in Bengal. And there was a hard battle, and Shīr Khān's small army overthrew the hosts of Humāyūn. Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān, grandson of Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, and many nobles were drowned in the Ganges. But Humāyūn came to Lahore in distress, and from thence, by reason of the advance of the Afghāns and the opposition of his brothers, he went to Bakar, and Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusayn bin Shujā' Beg Arghūn,<sup>(2)</sup> the Governor of Bakar, hoisted his flag against him, and could not be persuaded, though the King sent men to him many times calling him to his duty. So Humāyūn turned towards Qandahār. And the Governor, 'Askarī Mīrzā, his brother, was minded to take Humāyūn and his nobles. But this was revealed to Humāyūn by a friend among 'Askarī Mīrzā's officers, who came to his camp in the country of Shāl and Mastāng. So Humāyūn was constrained to leave his camp and his baggage; and he fled with thirty or forty men by an unknown way towards Sistān. And the Governor of Sistān, Aḥmad Sultān Shāmlū, came out with his nobles to meet him at a certain village, and gave him a place to stay in befitting the King. And Humāyūn and Aḥmad set out for Herāt. And when Muḥammad Khān came to know of Humāyūn's coming he sent presents, and on Saturday, the twentieth of the month Zī'l-qa'da he and his nobles left Herāt and met Humāyūn at the village of Mālān. And they entered Herāt together. And Sultān Muḥammad

Mirzā visited the King in the Ravens' Garden. So for some days Humāyūn abode at Herāt, and set forth to meet the Shāh. And in every province the nobles met him with honour. At Ray he was met by Ḥusayn Jān Sulṭān Rūmlū, the Governor. And while he was still a league from the Shāh's camp there came to meet him Bahrām Mirzā, Sām Mirzā, Qāzī-i-Jahān, Sūnduk Beg the Qūrchibāshī, Badr Khān, Shāh Qulī Khalifa, the Keeper of the Seal, and other nobles. Then he dismounted when he came near, and the Shāh, when he saw him, left his tent and came forward some steps. And men saw the conjunction of the two stars. Thus they entered the tent together. Of Humāyūn's gifts was a diamond of four miṣqāls and four dāngs. Then the camp left Chaman-i-qurwa for Sūrluq. At that time the Shāh went hunting, and antelopes, and wild oxen, and all manner of beasts were slain. And the Shāh made a great feast and called Humāyūn. And when eating and drinking were finished the Shāh gave all kinds of gifts, jewelled belts, and stuffs, and weapons, and Arab horses, and camels, and tents. Then they made pilgrimage to the tombs of the Shāh's forefathers at Ardabil, and to Tabriz, and returned to the camp. And the Shāh commanded that they should go to help Humāyūn to the Land of Dāwar and Qandahār—Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Afshār, Budāq Khān Qājār, Aḥmad Sulṭān (Governor of Sistān), Ayqūt Beg (grandson of Chāyān Sulṭān), Adham Beg (son of Dīv Sulṭān), and three hundred qūrchīs under Shāh Virdī Beg Kachal, and one thousand horsemen under Muḥammad Khān. After they took that province they should go to Kābul and Ghazna, and hand over that land to Humāyūn. So they set out, and came to the hot country. Then 'Askarī Beg, Kāmran Mirzā's Governor of Qandahar, strengthened the fort and sent word of Humāyūn's coming to Kābul. And Mirzā Kāmran sent Qāsim Sulṭān and Amīr Khalīl to help 'Askarī Beg. But Humāyūn, hearing of this, marched swiftly with the Qizilbāshes. And the enemy left the fort for battle, but they were forced to flee back into the fort, and it was besieged. After eight months 'Askarī Beg, despairing of help from Kāmran Mirzā, asked for quarter. So the King forgave him, and Budāq Sulṭān took possession of the city. And Humāyūn and the Persian lords abode outside Qandahār, but after four days the Persians marched off, each to his own country, despite the Shāh's command that they should not return till Kābul had been taken from Kāmran Mirzā. But Humāyūn



abode near Qandahār with five thousand horse, and gathered together his nobles, and took counsel with them. Ulugh Mirzā, grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā, urged that they should take Qandahār from Budāq Khān, and, leaving families and dependents there, should turn to Kābul. And this was approved; and Ulugh Mirzā with about three hundred men set out for the city by way of the Māshūr gate, and Amīr Ḥājī Muḥammad with his braves by way of the Kundagān gate. When they reached the gate of Qandahār, they found the keepers of the gate expecting nought; so they threw themselves into the fort. And Budāq Khān's men took refuge in the citadel. Then Humāyūn came to the city, and Budāq Khān came down from the citadel, and went off, with permission, to the Shāh's Court. So when Qandahār, for the second time and with the help of the Shāh, came into Humāyūn's possession, the Chaghatāy Chiefs deserted Kāmran in numbers, and joined Humāyūn, who turned to Kābul. Qarāja Beg visited the King, and was well received. Shīr Afkan Bahādur, son of Qūch Beg, fled from Kāmran with a thousand horse, and joined the camp. So, too, did Khizr Khān, Governor of Hazāra, with a force of ten thousand. And when Kāmran heard of Humāyūn's coming, he left Kābul and fled. And Humāyūn entered Kābul in state.

This year there was a conjunction of the two great planets. The Shāh's winter quarters were at Qazwīn.

*A.H. 952. The Shāh goes to Dāmaghān.*

The Shāh's summer quarters were at Yalla Gumbad which is near Qazwīn. Thence he went to Sulṭāniyya, and abode there two months, and from thence he went to Dāmaghān.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Dīn Muḥammad came to Mashhad, and killed sixty of the men of Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Ustājilū, Governor of Mashhad, and, going to Nayshāpūr, he plundered the country, and, after twenty days, returned to his own land.

The Shāh's winter quarters were at Qazwīn. This year, too, there was plague at Tabrīz.

*Deaths.*

Amīr Muizzu'd-dīn Muḥammad Iṣfahānī was the most pious, abstemious, and learned, of the Sayyids of Persian 'Irāq; being especially versed in jurisprudence, which he had learnt mostly from

the Mujtahid of the time. In his youth he made pilgrimage to the House of God.<sup>(1)</sup> When the Mujtahid caused the dismissal of Mir Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Maṣṣūr, he also praised the qualities of the Mir, and the Shāh sent for him. And he was then at Iṣfahān. Till he came, the Mujtahid appointed officers on his behalf. He was eight years Minister, and hard he worked to improve religion and abate heresy, to suppress drinking and gambling places, and to punish evil doers and heretics. Yet he had a sense of humour, and many diverting things are told of him. His good nature and humility were beyond praise. But by reason of the treachery of Mawlānā Ruknu'd-dīn Maṣ'ūd Kāzarūnī, the Shāh ceased to favour him, and dismissed him. Thereafter he lived at the shrine of Rīzā, and spent his days in religious studies and worship. This year he thought to visit the Holy places; but he died at Baṣra, and was buried at Karbalā. Among his works is a tract on the Division of Hundreds. 'Khayru'n-nās' gives the date of his death.

Mawlānā Sulṭān Muḥammad Sāqī, of Astarābād, was a famous poet, and a rival of Mawlānā Ḥayratī. He died this year in the month of Rajab. His works include a Commentary on the Maṭālī' and a dīwān of ghazals and qaṣīdas.

Mantāshā Sulṭān Ustājīlū also died suddenly this year.

*A.H. 953. The rebellion of Ilqās the traitor.*

Now when he had ruled Shīrwān for a short time Ilqās forgot his duty, and rebelled. Then the Shāh went to Tabrīz with troops, and sent Ūrkanj Ūghālī to Ilqās; but Ilqās answered him roughly. Howbeit, when Ilqās heard of the Shāh's coming, he sent his mother, Khān Begī Khānam, and his son Sulṭān Aḥmad, to Court. And the Khānam represented that Ilqās was repentant, and asked for forgiveness, promising to offend no more. So the Shāh pardoned him, and sent Sayyid Beg Muḥammad Kamūna, Sūnduk Beg Qūrchībāshī, Shāh Qulī Khalifa, Keeper of the Seal, Badr Khān, and Maṣ'ūm Beg Mutawallī of Ardabīl, with Ilqās' mother to Shīrwān. They took an oath from Ilqās, not again to disobey, and to send every year a thousand Tabrīz tūmāns to the treasury and a thousand horsemen with their kit. Then the Shāh marched from Sahand to Tabrīz, where Barakat Khalifa Bakdilī,<sup>(1)</sup> one of Ilqās' courtiers, broke away from Ilqās with about forty men, and came to Court.

And at Tabriz a quarrel arose between the Afshār and Zu'l-Qadar tribes, and they got ready to fight. The Shāh, mingling kindness and severity, upbraided them, and they inclined to peace. Shāh Qulī Khalifa Zu'l-Qadar, Ibrāhīm Khān Zu'l-Qadar, 'Alī Sulṭān Zu'l-Qadar, Sūndūk Beg Qūrchibāshī Afshār, Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Afshār, and Muḥammad Khān Afshār came to the palace, and covenanted that they would quarrel no more so long as they lived.

After this the Shāh set out for Georgia with a large army, passed Shūra-i-gil, and reached Āq Shahr. There, at a time of great cold, he made a night attack on the Gabrs,<sup>(2)</sup> and covered the snow with their blood, and captured oxen and sheep, and burnt houses. The sun was in Capricorn, and the Kur was frozen, and snow made hill forts and level plains one. Kamāl Ismā'il<sup>(8)</sup> must have been describing such a time as this when he wrote that the hills were covered with snow as cotton-seed with cotton. At this time the writer, with certain Rūmlū and Chapanī qūrchīs, met a body of the Gabrs, and he, with a Chapanī qūrchī named Shāh Qulī, charged and scattered them, and wounded and killed, or captured, many men. The Ghāzīs who were with us restrained themselves, and halted. Then the Shāh marched from Āq Shahr for Tubdī. And, on the way, Lawand Beg, Governor of Zakam and Gīram, and Bāsh Āchūq, Governor of Georgia, came to Court and were honourably received. Bāsh Āchūq received a dress of honour and returned to his province, but Lawand Beg, remained and served at Court (even as good fortune serves) for some days. Then the Shāh marched straight to Ganja, and left Ganja and camped at the village of Yulāq, from whence he sent Ibrāhīm Khān Zu'l-Qadar, Ḥusayn Jān Sulṭān Rūmlū, Kūkja Sulṭān Qājār, Shāh Virdī Sulṭān Ziyād Ūghalī, Khwāja Bāsān, and five thousand horse, to Shamākhi where was Ilqās the traitor. Then Mihtar Dawlat Yār, Commander of Ilqās' camp, hearing of this, took away the family of Ilqās to Gulistān fort. After the Chiefs had set out for Shamākhi the Shāh marched to 'Alī Shabān, and from thence he sent Sulaymān Chalabī, who was at Gulistān, with six hundred men against Darband. A league from Darband the Ghāzīs met a company of Ilqās' men, and overcame them, and killed about thirty. And Sārū Qimāsp and Dalw Qimāsp came out from Darband to fight, but were driven back into the fort. Then Sulaymān Chalabī returned and came to the Samūr river.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year from the Turks of the Qipchāq plain, and the nomads and Chiefs of the hill country, men like Sulṭān 'Alī Beg Qītāq and Qarā Qubād came to Court and were received, and were given presents. This year, too, Sulṭān Sulaymān of Turkey sent a large army to take Baṣra. 'Abdullāh Munzir, the Governor, left the fort and fought with the Turks till night; but, finding that he was not equal to them, he left the city and fled, and the Turks conquered Baṣra.

*Deaths.*

Sulṭān Chaghatāy was a beautiful youth, who died this year.

Mawlānā Kamālu'd-din Ḥusayn, son of Mawlānā Mas'ūd Kāshī, was a skilful physician, who succeeded his father as the Shāh's physician and was highly favoured. He died this year.

*A.H. 954. Ilqās goes to Circassia; he returns; his defeat by the Persian Chiefs; his flight to Turkey.*

Now when Ilqās met the Chiefs he set out for Circassia with six thousand horse and foot, and made with all speed for Darband, leaving his family at Shamākhī, but taking his mother to Darband fort. And he set his face towards Circassia; but, because of the cold, he could do nothing, and returned. And he made Shāh Nazar, the brother of Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Shakī, with some officers his vanguard. And a company of men from Circassia came up with them. And Shāh Nazar fought bravely, but he was hit by a javelin, and fell from his horse and was killed. And Parwandī Āghā Rūmlū and many of Ilqās' officers were slain. And the victory of the Circassian men made many go against Ilqās, but he again attacked and overthrew the Circassians, and pursued after them, and killed nearly six hundred. Then he turned to Darband, and there he heard that the Shāh had come to Shīrwān and taken the gear and families of his soldiers, and stood ready to fight with thirty thousand horsemen. So therefore he sent Sārū Qīmāsp and Dalw Qīmāsp with a company against Shāh Virdī Sulṭān Ziyād Ūghalī Qājār, Muḥammad Beg Turk-mān, Sulaymān Beg Chalabī Chapanī, and Muḥammad Beg Shīrbakht Ūghalī Ṭālīsh. And these Chiefs met that company at the Samūr river, and overthrew it. When Ilqās heard of this he sent Muḥammad Beg Afshār with a number of roughs to fight Rustam Beg and

Paykar Beg. The Persian Chiefs met and overthrew the enemy near Qabalah, and slew one hundred and sixty men. But Muḥammad Beg escaped with difficulty. At this time, too, Ilqās sent Chopan Beg Aychak Ūghalī to take men who would give news. And when Chopan came near the camp of the Persian Chiefs, Shāh Virdī Sulṭān Ziyād Ūghalī by chance was walking there; and he caught him, and sent him to the Shāh who commanded that he should be put to death. And blind Suhrāb Zu'l-Qadar was also caught and punished.

And when the Shāh heard that Ilqās had come to Darband, he sent Shāh Khalifa, the Keeper of the Seal, and Badr Khān Ustājilū, and Ḥusayn Jān Rūmlū, and Chirāgh Sulṭān Ustājilū, to help the Chiefs who were striving with the enemy. Then Ilqās, fearing by reason of the coming of the Royal forces, fled to Khunāliq <sup>(1)</sup>; and his army deserted by regiments. So Ilqās left Khunāliq and camped at the Samūr river. And the Chiefs sent an expedition against him. And Shāh Virdī Beg Ziyād Ūghalī and Muḥammad Beg Turkmān and some twenty men came suddenly upon Ilqās, who fled as he was. And the Ghāzīs crossed the river and fired volleys. Then an officer of Shāh Qulī Khalifa, whose name was Sātalmish wounded Ilqās with an arrow. And Ilqās escaped with difficulty to the hills, and most of his men were taken. Then with but forty retainers he went to the Shamkhāl tribe and, embarking by the sea of Azof, set out for Kaffa; and from thence he went to Constantinople.<sup>(2)</sup>

*The taking of Gulistān Fort.*

Now Mehtar Dawlat Yār trusted to the strength of the fort and the stores and men that he had. And the Shāh commanded the army to camp near the fort, and got ready guns and engines such as are used against forts, and sent Ḥamza Beg Kāshānī Sanjaq Ūghalī to the Commandant, to bring him down from the fort. But they took him and tore him to pieces in the sight of the Ghāzīs on the tower. And for about three months neither side had victory; but, at last, the fort was taken. For the women who were in the fort, being ill disposed, let in a number of Shāmlū qūrchīs by means of a tent rope. They captured Mehtar Dawlat Yār and many of his men, who were executed by the Shāh's command. And the fort was dismantled. And Shāh Qulī Khalifa and Ḥusayn Jan Sulṭān Rūmlū, passing by Darband, pillaged Qitāq,<sup>(3)</sup> and returned to camp.

*The capture of Darband Fort.*

Having heard of the flight of Ilqās, the Shāh commanded Bahrām Mirzā and 'Abdullāh Khān (<sup>4</sup>) and others to join the Chiefs and besiege Darband. And they did this. Kuhna Shāh Virdī, the Kotwāl, strengthened the defences. Sappers were ordered to tunnel, and gunners to fire. After two or three months the walls were like a sieve, and Shāh Virdī sent to ask for quarter. Then the Shāh pardoned him, and he and Khān Begī Khānam came out, and were given quarter. At this time one Masīḥ of Shīrwān, Governor of Salūt Fort, came in, and surrendered his fort. The Shāh, having thus subdued the Shīrwān province a second time, gave it to his son Ismā'il Mirzā, with Kūkja Sulṭān Qājār to serve him. After this he returned to Tabriz on the twenty-sixth day of Sha'bān.

*The war of Qāytams Sulṭān with Duzdī Dāūd.*

This year Duzdī Dāūd, Governor of Pāsīn (<sup>5</sup>) on behalf of the Turkish Sulṭān, with an army of Turks, made a night attack on Qāytams Khunustu—who was at the Kurdish encampment, and his Ghāzīs were scattered and asleep. And he killed about a hundred men of the Alpāwat clan. But Qāytams Beg and Alwand Khān Beg Sa'dlū threw themselves into the fight, and killed about seven hundred men, and sent their heads to the Court.

*The war of Walī Sulṭān Zu'l-Qadar with the Chiefs of Kurdistān.*

This year, at Sulṭān Sulaymān's command, the Kurdish chiefs came with five thousand horse to Ūrmiya. Walī Sulṭān Zu'l-Qadar, the Governor on behalf of the Shāh, left the fort with three hundred horsemen, and attacked. And seeing his prowess, the Kurdish chiefs fled to their own country. And Walī Sulṭān pursued them, and killed a number of Kurds, who were busy with pillaging, and sent their heads to the Court.

*Humāyūn's war with Mirzā Sulaymān, (<sup>6</sup>) King of Badakhshān.*

This year, Humāyūn marched to Badakhshān. Mirzā Sulaymān was at that time in Tukhāristān; and he gathered troops from Khaylān, Khatlān, Qunduz, and Baghlān. But in the battle Sulaymān was overthrown, and forced to yield. Then Humāyūn restored the province to him.

But, while Humāyūn was away, Kāmrān came to Kābul, and seized his family, and conquered the country. And he stripped Walad Beg and Dalw Qāsim, whom the Shāh had sent to Humāyūn. And when Humāyūn heard of this, he returned from Badakhshān, and reached Kābul. Mirzā Kāmrān came out of the city, and drew up for battle. But he was overthrown, and with much trouble threw himself into the city. And there were many hard fights. Kāmrān sent Shīr Afkan Bahādūr and three thousand horse to cut off supplies from the King's army. And Humāyūn sent Qarāja Beg to deal with him. And Amīr Qarāja attacked on a sudden, and slew Shīr Afkan and eight hundred horsemen. Meanwhile Humāyūn besieged the fort, and he surrounded his army with a ditch, so that they might not make night attacks. After some months Kāmrān sent messengers, asking to be allowed to come to the King safely. And the King consented, and commanded that no man should touch him. So he came out of the fort, and was received, and his sins were forgiven, and he was treated as one of the princes.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the Shāh inquired about the doings of Ilqās' officials. And all those who were proved to have been disloyal were punished. Also Ḥasan Beg Shāmlū, who had often shown disaffection and treachery, was seized along with his family. This year Adham Beg Rūmlū, son of Dīv Sultān, was sent as ambassador to Nizāmu'l-mulk, (7) King of the Deccan.

*Deaths.*

Āghā Muḥammad bin Āghā Rustam Rūz Afzūn, who was a kind and good man, died this year. His brother's son, Āghā Suhrāb, though he struggled much, could do nothing.

*Ismā'il Mirzā's war with Burhān Shīrwānī.*

Now Burhān, a descendant of the Shīrwān Kings, rebelled, and left Qīṭāq for Shīrwān. And Prince Isma'il marched against him. He had set up an encampment in the village of Filān, (8) on the edge of the forest, ready to fight. A regiment of Ghāzīs engaged him, before the Prince arrived; when he came the enemy could not withstand him, and fled. The Ghāzīs pursued, and killed many, and threw their heads under the hoofs of the Prince's charger. At this

time news came that Sulṭān Sulaymān and Ilqās were marching against Tabrīz, and the Prince set out to join the Shāh's camp. Then Burhān came back from the hills to Shamākhī, and gained possession of the country.

*A.H. 955. Sulṭān Sulaymān's coming<sup>(1)</sup> with Ilqās the traitor towards Tabrīz.*

This year Sulṭān Sulaymān and Ilqās, and a numberless host, gathered together from Hungary, Aflāq, Bosnia, Serbia, Morea, Moldavia, Dāira-i-dust (?) Anatolia, Mantashā Īlī, Qaramān, Mar'ash, Aleppo, Syria, Egypt, Hejāz, Yaman, Diyārbakr, Arabian 'Irāq, Kaffa, with all equipment, arms and armour, guns, muskets, and carriages, and marched with speed on Tabrīz. Then the Shāh left Tabrīz for battle, and camped at Shumb-i-Ghāzān for a month, to gather his troops. And he laid waste the country, and stopped the water courses in the way of the invaders, and sent 'Abdullāh Khān Ustājlu, Badr Khān Ustājlu, Ḥusayn Jān Sulṭān Rūmlū, Shāh Virdī Sulṭān Ziyād Ūghalī, and 'Alī Sulṭān Takalū, to Marand, and himself went to his summer resort at Ashkambar. On the banks of the salt water, Prince Isma'īl Mīrzā, with the army of Shīrwān, joined the Shāh.

Now, the Khwandgar came by way of Dogharī<sup>(2)</sup> to Bārgīrī, and sent Ulma with a company of Turks to surround the fort of Wān. From thence he made for Tabrīz, and from Khūy he sent 'Alī Pāshā, Muhammad Pāshā, Ḥaydar Pāshā, and Ilqās Mīrzā, with forty thousand horse, to make a swift attack on the Persian Chiefs at the meadows of Marand. On the other side 'Abdullāh Khān, Shāh Virdī Sulṭān Ziyād Ūghalī, and 'Alī Sulṭān, were sent to scout. And the Ghāzīs met the enemy vanguard at Kurd Bīsha, and they fought together. Then Shāh Virdī showed great bravery, and killed many Turks. But, because of their vast numbers, and the stream of their reinforcements, they prevailed, and the Persian Chiefs took refuge in the hills. News of this reached the other Chiefs, who sent Tabit Āghā, Wakil of Ḥusayn Jān Rūmlū, to see how the matter was, and Amīr Ghayb Reg, too, with a company of his men. And they reached the advanced Turkish forces, and made for the Persian Chiefs, fighting their way there. Ilqās Mīrzā and the Pāshās, when they arrived at the meadows of Marand, found that 'Abdullāh Khān and the rest had marched away, and about two thousand horsemen were waiting there



to fight. Then the Turks thought that it was an ambush; but at last they attacked. And the Ghāzīs withdrew fighting, and rejoined the Persian army at Ashkambar. Then the Persians retreated from the Ashkambar river to the Āhar river, so that they might collect the Chiefs of Khuzistān, Fārs, Kirmān, and 'Irāq. And Sulṭān Sulaymān came to Tabrīz by way of the pass of Yām, and camped at Jarandāb, and Ilqās Mīrzā in the 'Ayshābād Garden. Their beasts were fed on the leaves and bark of trees, and in four days time five thousand horses, camels, and mules died. And the violence of the wind covered the sun with dust, so that men could not distinguish between day and night. And the lack of food made the Turkish army plunder the town, and the cry of the people went up to heaven. So, when the Sulṭān heard of this, he sent Rustam Pāshā to stop the looting. And the Shāh sent Qizilbāsh parties to skirmish, and the Ghāzīs hung on to the Turkish camp, and made prisoners, and impaled them. Thus was the Sulṭān forced to retire; and he sent off his baggage; and, on Monday, the twenty-fourth day of the second month of Rabī' himself set off. And the Tabrīz rabble cut off many of his men. Ibrāhīm Khān and Muḥammadī Beg Turkmān followed him. And near Shabistar they had a hard fight with the Pāshās of Syria and Diyārbakr and the Pāshā of Mar'ash, and killed the Amīr of 'Aintāb and two hundred men. And the Sulṭān, retreating every day three or four leagues, marched on Wān by way of Kurdistān. At that time Shāh 'Alī Sulṭān Chapanī<sup>(3)</sup> was Kotwāl of Wān. The Turks attacked with guns and muskets. For they had cast seven "bādlij" guns and six cannon at Ādiljawāz, and with them they attacked. Shāh 'Alī, from the excess of his cowardice, yielded up the fort. And the Sulṭān handed it over to Sikandar Pāshā, and marched to Diyārbakr.

When the Shāh, at Ashkambar, heard that the Sulṭān had left Tabrīz, he set out, on Thursday, the twenty-eighth day, for battle with continuous marches. And the Ghāzīs killed some of the enemy. On Saturday, the sixth day of Rajab they entered Khūy. Ibrāhīm Khān and other Chiefs joined the Royal forces with a large army. On Wednesday, the tenth the Shāh arrived at Chaldīrān, where Shāh Qulī Sulṭān, the Governor of Kirmān, and Maḥmūd Khan Afshār came also. And the Shāh heard that the Sulṭān had made 'Alī Beg, brother of Muḥammad Khān Zu'l-Qadar, a Pāshā, and had sent

‘Uṣmān Chalabī Qūllar Āghāsī with four thousand men to repair the fort of Qārs on the boundary of Georgia. Therefore he sent his eldest son, Ismā‘il Mīrzā, with Kūkja Sultān Qājār, against them. The Prince marched with speed and killed two thousand, and also five thousand workmen and artizans, who had been brought from Amāsia, Tūqāt, Sīwās, Āqshahr, Arzinjān, Bayburd, Kamākh, Tarjān, Erzerūm, and all that land. The rest threw themselves into the fort, which was besieged by the Persians. After three days an attack was made; the defenders asked for quarter and came out. ‘Uṣmān Chalabī, the Commandant, came with six hundred men to the Prince’s court. There he drew his sword, and struck Ṭawīqūn Beg on the shoulder. And then, of a sudden, those bad men attacked the Prince, who did not move but commanded that they should be slain. So all were killed; and the fort was destroyed. And the Persians set out again for the Royal camp. And at this time Bahrām Mīrzā came from Hamadān with an army. And both joined the Shāh.

Shah Qulī Sultān Afshār was sent with a large force to attack the encampments of those parts. They plundered the tribesmen of Akhlāt, and took five thousand horses, one hundred thousand sheep, and fifty thousand oxen. And the Shāh plundered and burnt the district of Khunus, and set out for Pāsīn. Prince Ismā‘il and Bahrām Mīrzā joined the camp at Pāsīn. Shāh Qulī Sultān, Maḥmud Khān, and Shāh Virdī Beg Kachal, who had gone to reconnoitre, met and fought two thousand men reconnoitring on the other side, and killed many, and sent their heads to the Shāh. Par Qulī Afshār met the men of Qāpū Khalaqī, and captured some with their arms.

Then Sultān Sulaymān sent Ulma, and the Pāshā of Erzerūm, and the Pāshā of Sīwās, with thirteen thousand horse to guard Erzerūm, and set off himself for the district of Mūsh, intending to enter Diyārbakr. He had many musketeers as his rear guard. When the Shāh heard this, he marched after him, but before the Shāh arrived he crossed to Bitlīs and reached Āmid. The Shāh sent ‘Alī Sultān Ṭāti Ūghalī with ten thousand horse to plunder Akhlāt, Guzīl Dara,<sup>(4)</sup> and Ādiljawāz. The army also plundered the district of Mūsh. Meanwhile they brought Imām Qulī Khalīfa Chamish-guzikī<sup>(5)</sup> Chāūsh, who was coming from the Sultān to the Shāh. And he said Ulma was at Tarjān. So the Shāh set off for Tarjān by way of Sufiyan, but Ulma left Tarjān and fled. From Tarjān the Shāh

set out for Arzinjān. Prince Ismā'īl marched in front on Sunday, the twenty-seventh day, and near Bayburd he met Muḥammad Pāshā Tak Ūghalī, who was overthrown and fled, and was pursued by the Persians. Four hundred and fifty Turkish horsemen were killed, and Arzinjān was plundered and occupied. And the Shāh sent Zu'l-Qadar qūrchīs to reconnoitre, and himself rested. 'Uṣmān Chalabī Turk, who came from Sulṭān Sulaymān, attacked; but the Zu'l-Qadarīs joined battle, and defeated the Turks, and killed thirty of them, and brought their heads and arms to the Shāh.

On Thursday, the tenth of Ramaḡān the Shāh left Arzinjān, and, early in Shawwāl, camped at Ūch Kalīsā.<sup>(6)</sup> The Prince, 'Abdullāh Khān, and Kūkja Sulṭān, were sent to Shirwān. When they reached the Kur they sent Sūnduk Beg, Qūrchibāshī with two thousand and five hundred qūrchīs to plunder Shakī; and they plundered it. Darwīsh Muḥammad<sup>(7)</sup> took refuge in the fort of Kīsh. And at that time news came that Ilqās had gone to 'Irāq, and had captured Bahrām Mīrzā's family. So the qūrchīs rejoined the Royal army, and also the Prince and 'Abdullāh Khān. And the Shāh went with forced marches, by way of Tārum and Khalkhāl, to Qazwīn.

Now it was when the Shāh was at Arzinjān, and Sulṭān Sulaymān was afraid, that he sent Ilqās with five thousand horse from Kurdistān to Hamadān. When Ilqās reached Hamadān, Bahrām Mīrzā's family fell into his hands. Then he set out for Qum, and conquered that town, and sent Muḥammad Beg Afshār with a large body of faithless men to plunder Ray; and they did so, and returned. They stayed at Qum for nigh a month, and then moved against Kāshān, and conquered it also. Meanwhile his officers brought some men they had caught, belonging to the Chiefs who had left Arzinjān. And these prisoners said the Shāh was at hand. So Ilqās made for Iṣfahān; there Shāh Taqī'u'd-dīn Muḥammad and the Mīr-i-Mīrān brought the folk into the city, and got themselves ready for defence. And it was heard that Bahrām Mīrzā, and Ibrāhīm Khān, and their men, had reached Kāshān. So Ilqās set out for Fārs; and he took the fort of Yazdikhāst,<sup>(8)</sup> and made a general massacre, and then set out for Shīrāz. As they had removed the bridge at Band-i-amīr,<sup>(9)</sup> he went by the nearer, upper, road, under the White Fort. At that time Junayd Beg, brother of Ibrāhīm Khān, was there with the families of the Zu'l-Qadarīs. They strengthened the fort defences. And Ilqās

stayed there five days, and, seeing that it was not possible to capture the fort, he marched off for Behbehān. The leaders of Shūlistān, and the Mamasenī<sup>(10)</sup> collected about a thousand men, and sent to Junayd, asking counsel of him. And Junayd counselled them not to fight till next day, when he would join them. But they could not wait, and divided themselves into two companies; one followed the enemy, and captured camels and kit; and the other attacked on level ground, and killed thirty. But Ilqās came up with seven hundred horsemen, and overthrew them, and killed forty of them. And the remnant fled. And Ilqās attacked the others, and defeated them, and recaptured his own gear. But when he reached Behbehān, the people had fled. Therefore he burnt the place, and reached Shūshtar in the middle of Zi'l-hijja. And his meq attacked the gates. Amīr Zaynu'd-dīn 'Alī and Amīr 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb came out of the city; and Ilqās, perceiving that he could not succeed, set out for Dizfūl. There also he could do nothing; and he went from thence by way of Bayāt fort to the confines of Baghdād.

*The war between Shāh 'Alī Sultān and 'Alī Sultān Uzbek,  
and the defeat of the Uzbeks.*

This year, 'Alī Sultān Uzbek fell upon Astarābād with six thousand horse. But Shāh 'Alī Ustājilū burst out of the Jurjān forests with seven hundred men, and fell upon him, and put him to flight. The Uzbeks were pursued as far as Gumbad-i-Qābūs<sup>(11)</sup>; and three hundred were killed, and their heads were sent to the Shāh.

*Muḥammad Khān Sharafu'd-dīn Ūghalī goes to Gharjistān.  
His fight with Bayrām Ūghalan; the defeat of the Uzbeks.*

Now Bayrām Ūghalan Uzbek, Governor of Gharjistān, gathered men from the Qipchāq tribes and Uzbeks, and came to the Herāt river, and took off to Gharjistān certain tribes who were wont to pay tribute to the Herāt Governors. So when Muḥammad Khān heard this in Herāt, he set out, early in Rajab, to attack Gharjistān, and pitched his camp at Ulang-i-Kahadstān, and then reached the enemy at Āq Gumbad at the entrance to Gharjistān. And Bayrām prepared for battle in the hills. Ḥasan Beg Mirāb, the advance guard of the Khān, fell upon the Uzbeks, but Bayrām Ūghalan defeated him. But Qazāq, son of Muḥammad Khān, came with a band of

warriors to help him, and Muḥammad Khān himself appeared. So Bayrām Khān Ūghalan was fain to flee, and the Uzbeks were pursued by the Takalūs and a number were taken captive. The Khān then made for the fort of Ashbār,<sup>(12)</sup> where were the retainers of Bayrām Ūghalan. But he could not take it, and returned to Herāt.

*The war of Qazāq and Uways Sultān with Ḥaqq Naẓar Ūghalan,  
and defeat of the Uzbeks.*

This year news came that Ḥaqq Naẓar Ūghalan, with a number of Uzbeks, had crossed the Oxus. So Muḥammad Khān sent Uways Sultān with a company, to help Qazāq Sultān, who was at that time at Bākharz.<sup>(13)</sup> They joined, and caught the Uzbeks near Pul-i-Khātūn.<sup>(14)</sup> Ḥaqq Naẓar Ūghalan prepared for battle. Qazāq stationed his musketeers in front, and himself behind them. So Ḥaqq Naẓar could not withstand the Ghāzis, and he fled, and was pursued, and about nine hundred of his men were killed. And the Takalūs returned to Herat.

*Sikandar Pāshā's coming to Khūy; death of Ḥājī Beg Dumbālī.<sup>(15)</sup>*

The Governor of Wān, Sikandar Pāshā, incited by Ḥasan Beg Maḥ-mūdī, gathered together his Kurdistān army, and fell upon Ḥājī Beg Dumbālī at Khūy, whose wife, being the sister of Ḥasan Beg, opened the gates. Ḥājī Beg, after a brave resistance, was killed; and also many of the inhabitants of Khūy. Then Sikandar returned to Wān.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Because of the Turkish invasion Tabrīz was visited by plague, and many died. The Shāh commanded that they should destroy the fort of Alanchiq. Shāh Qulī Sultān Balīlān<sup>(16)</sup> Kurd plundered Salmās. Sulaymān Chalabī Chapanī, Governor of Ūrmīya, fought with the Chiefs of Kurdistān, but he was overcome, and most of his men were killed.

*Deaths.*

Sharīf-i-Tabrīzī<sup>(17)</sup> was a poet of merit, whose works were well known, among them being his satire on Khwāja Ghiyāṣu'-d-dīn 'Alī Kahra, also a qaṣīda of apology.

*A.H. 956.*

Now the Khwāndgār called Ilqās, after his expedition to Qum and Kāshān, and his coming to Baghdād. But his star was setting, and he did not obey, but sent back Bahrām Mirzā's family to the Shāh. So the Sultān sent his second minister, Muḥammad Pāshā, with thirty thousand horse, against him. They fell upon him at the season of the equinox, and he fled to the fort of Mariwān, whose Governor was Surkhāb Kurd.<sup>(1)</sup> And when the Shāh heard of his coming he sent Bahrām Mirza, Ibrāhīm Khān, and Shāh Qulī Khalīfa, the Keeper of the Seal, with twenty thousand horse. And they found Ilqās at the fort, and overcome him. And promises and threats were made to Surkhāb; wherefore he handed over Ilqās to Bahrām Mirzā, who sent him to the Shāh. And the Shāh asked him, saying, 'Why didst thou leave me, and flee to the Khwāndgār? For what evil had I done thee?' And he answered not. Then the Shāh sent him to the fort of Qahqaha. Thus was sedition put down.

*The Shāh sends 'Abdullāh Khān to be Governor of Shīrwān.*

Now Burhān had died, and the Shīrwānis hid his body. But 'Abdullāh Khān found it, and took it out, and cut off its head. Then the men of Shīrwān, through fear of the Khān, fled to the village of Daraw, which is an island on the shores of the Qulzum<sup>(2)</sup> sea, and rebelled. 'Abdullāh attacked, and drove his horses through the sea, and killed most of the enemy, and plundered their goods, and returned to Shamākhī.

*The coming of Sikandar Pāshā to Erivān, and the flight of  
Ḥusayn Jān Sultān.*

Now Sikandar collected the troops of Kurdistān, and came to Chukhūr Sa'd, where Ḥusayn Jān Rūmlū Sultān was Governor. Then Ḥusayn sent Tabit Āghā,<sup>(3)</sup> his Wakil, with twenty men to reconnoitre; they met Sikandar, and were overcome, and five of them were killed. And Tabit Āghā returned to camp. And Sikandar came to Erivān, and burnt the bazar, and returned to Wān, followed by Ḥusayn, who killed ten of his men. The Shāh, hearing of this, sent Jarandāb Sultān Shāmlū to Chukhūr Sa'd to give help.

*Capture of the fort of Bārgīrī by Shāh Virdī Sultān Ziyād Ūghālī.*

Shāh Virdī made an expedition from Nakhchivān to the fort of Bārgīrī. At that time Sulaymān Beg Kurd<sup>(4)</sup> had come from Sultān Sulaymān to that fort, and thought to attack. And Shāh Virdī came with two hundred and forty men at night, and threw his men against the fort, and killed about two hundred Kurds and Turks, and captured Sulaymān Beg, and sent him to the Court.

*Miscellaneous events.*

On a Thursday night in the month of Muḥarram, in five villages of the District of Qāīn, there was an earthquake, and about three thousand persons were buried under the walls. It is said that Qāzī Mawlānā Bāqī dwelt in one of these villages; and he was an astronomer, and he warned men of the coming earthquake the day before. But they heeded not; and he took his wife and family outside. But because of the great cold at midnight they came back; and as soon as they reached their home, the earthquake came, and they were buried.

The Sultān sent his second Minister Aḥmad Pāshā, with forty thousand horse and foot, against Georgia. They took Dāwīlī,<sup>(5)</sup> which belonged to Qurqura, and returned.

The Shāh's summer quarters were at Qazwīn.

*Deaths.*

Bahrām Mīrzā,<sup>(6)</sup> the Shāh's brother, died on Friday, the nineteenth day of Ramaẓān. He was buried at Mashhad. His age was thirty-three years, and he left three sons—Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Sultān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, and Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā.

*A.H. 957. The coming of the Uzbek Khāns to Herāt, and the death of Shāh Muḥammad Sultān.*

Burāq Khān<sup>(1)</sup> and 'Abdu'l-laṭīf Sultān crossed the Oxus with a large army for Herāt. And when Muḥammad Khān heard of this, he commanded that barricades should be set up inside the city, and he entrusted the barricades of the Fīrūzābād gate to Uways Sultān, of the Khūsh gate to Sanjāb Sultān Afshār, the passages outside the Qūṭī Chāq gate to Qazāq, while Tātār Beg and Amīr Ḥasan Khaṭīb looked to the Malik gate. And Muḥammad Khān remained with

Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā. On Thursday of the first month of Jumādā Burāq and the rest came; and they stayed at certain places in the district. Then the bravest of the Tūrān Sultāns, Shāh Muḥammad Sultān, came near to the Khūsh gate. And Sanjāb Sultān Afshār came out against him and slew many Uzbeks. But at last the Uzbeks prevailed, and killed five of his officers, and Sanjāb got back to the barricades, and the gunners drove back Shāh Muḥammad with musket fire. And after the flight of the unstable Sultāns among the districts of Herāt, they sent Shāh Muḥammad and most of the Uzbeks and Turks to the lands of Sīstān and Farāh. And he plundered, and slew, and returned. And he blamed Burāq for that he had not taken the barricades, saying that he would mount, and not dismount till he had taken them. So next day he attacked the barricade near the Shāh-i-zinda<sup>(2)</sup> tomb, and fell upon Suhrāb, one of its defenders, who fled. But Shāh Muḥammad was hit by a great stone on the head, and fell from his horse. And one of Muḥammad Khān's officers arose, and cut off his head and took it to the Khān. And five or six Uzbeks, who were his companions, were taken. Therefore Burāq Khān was afraid, and, on Tuesday, the twenty-seventh day he marched from Herāt, desiring to conquer Bukhārā. For 'Abdu'l-'azīz Sultān bin 'Ubayd Khān had died.

*The Shāh sends Sūnduk Beg Qurchībāshī, and Ḥasan Beg Yūzbāshī  
against Biga Ardalān.*

Now Surkhāb Kurd sent a man to Court, saying that Biga Ardalān,<sup>(3)</sup> Lord of Shahrizūr, had come with a company of Turks to his fort. So the Shāh commanded Sūnduk Beg and Ḥasan and Rustam Beg Afshār, with five thousand horse, to go against that worthless man. They crossed the river Tulwār which was in flood. And eighty qurchīs met Biga in the gardens of Shahrizūr with seven hundred horse; and they unhorsed him, and he hardly escaped into the fort. And forty of his men were slain in the fight.

In those days the writer fought with a company of Kurds on a hill near the fort of Zalam.<sup>(4)</sup> The Rūmlū qurchīs, being about fifty men, fled from the Kurds. And a Kurd who had killed Shādī Beg Zu'l-Qadar was about to take Shāh Virdī Beg, son of Qunqurāt Sultān. And my friend, Ḥusayn Qulī Khalīfa cried to his men to fight or don the garb of women. But they were afraid, and left their horses and



threw themselves from the hill. Then I and Ḥusayn Qulī Khalīfa charged and scattered the Kurds, and put Shāh Virdī Beg on a horse, and set off, fighting with the Kurds who had pursued the qūrchīs and were about forty men. Then Sūnduk Beg camped hard by the city, and Surkhāb came out of the fort and joined him. And the Ghāzīs plundered the neighbourhood of Shahrizūr. And Sūnduk Beg sent Rustam Beg Afshār with men to raid the province of. . . . .  
 . . . . . And so he did. Twenty days after Sūnduk Beg returned to Qazwīn, and the Shāh departed from thence for his summer quarters at Sulṭāniyya. He marched straight to Ādarbayjān, and sent Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafawī, Shāh Qulī Khalīfa, Keeper of the Seal, and 'Alī Sulṭān Takalū to plunder Tarkūr and Markūr.<sup>(5)</sup> And the Ghāzīs slew many Kurds, and took many beasts, and joined the camp again at Salmās. Then the Shāh marched towards the fort of Kūkar Chang on the sea of Ūrmiya. It was a fort approved by His Majesty, and hard by it is a hill, which also they made a fort. And the Shāh set out for Nakhchiwān. There he stayed for a month, and turned to Qarā Bāgh where he wintered.

*The rebellion of the Yaqā Turkmāns, and the death  
 of Shāh Virdī Beg Kachal.*

After Shāh 'Alī Sulṭān the Shāh gave Astarābād to Shāh Virdī Beg Kachal. And the Yaqā Turkmāns came to him with presents. And there was a young man named Ubā, Chief of the Ūkhlū, a youth of great beauty; and Shāh Virdī Beg made advances to him, and he fled to his tribe in the night and killed Shātar Beg, a courtier of Shāh Virdī Beg and his Dārogha of the Turkmāns. When Shāh Virdī Beg heard of this he set out to attack the Turkmān camps, and, ascending a hill without any attendants, sent his whole force to attack. Then Ubā came up to Shāh Virdī Beg and slew him. And when his men, who were plundering, heard this they fled. When news of this reached Dāmaghān Amīr Ghayb Beg, the Governor, set out with all speed for Astarābād to protect it.

*The killing of Bayrām Ūghalan, and the conquest of Gharjistān.*

When Muḥammad Khān was free from Burāq Khān he thought to attempt the forts of Gharjistān and sent Qazāq against the fort of Ash'ār, for Bayrām Ūghalan and a company of Uzbeks were there.

And Bayrām, seeing no escape, sent an envoy to Qazāq, asking for quarter. And a pact was made and Bayrām came out. But he was treacherously slain by Qazāq, who thus became Lord of all Gharjistān.

### *Deaths.*

‘Abdu’l-‘aziz bin ‘Ubayd Khān died at Bukhārā. Pīr Muḥammad Khān, the Governor of Balkh, threw himself into Bukhārā, and strengthened the fort, which was besieged by Burāq Khān. But he could not take it, and departed for Tāshkand.

### *A.H. 958. The Shāh's expedition to Shakī,<sup>(1)</sup> and the killing of Darwīsh Muḥammad Khān.*

Now Darwīsh Muḥammad Khān had many times shown that he was an enemy, and the Shāh set out against him, being joined by Lawand Beg, the Governor of Georgia. And he moved towards Shakī. Then Darwīsh Muḥammad Khān would not meet him, and the Shāh sent for him. But he trusted in the strength of his fort. So the Shāh was angered, and sent Badr Khān ahead and Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Ustājilū; and they came up with Darwīsh's scouts, and overthrew them, and took captive Amīr Yūsuf, Manager of the Governor of Shakī, and sent him to Court. Then Darwīsh Muḥammad Khān left Maḥmūd Beg, brother of Jūshan Āghā, in charge of the fort of Kīsh, and himself took refuge in the fort of Kala San. And they had made a defence in the midst of the Elburz mountains. Then the Shāh set out to conquer the fort. Sūnduk Beg Qūrchibāshī, Badr Khān, and Shāh Qulī Sulṭān, came round about the fort of Kīsh, and Shāh Qulī Khalifa, Keeper of the Seal, and all the high Chiefs came over against the defence. And ‘Abdullāh Khān and Lawand Beg, Governor of Georgia, camped opposite the fort of Kala San and Kūra San. Shāh Qulī Khalifa Zu'l-Qadar attacked the defence, but the enemy drove him back with musket fire. Then ‘Abdullāh Khān and Lawand Beg attacked Kala San and Kūra San. After twenty days of fighting the walls and battlements were broken. And Ḥasan Beg Ūghalī, with a thousand men, ascended a height close to the fort, and caught the defenders with musket fire. So Maḥmūd Beg yielded, and came out of the fort, and handed over the keys of its gates, and was forgiven. But the fort was levelled with the ground. Then His Majesty mounted, and went towards the defence, the men of which deserted

in groups to the Persians. And Darwīsh Muḥammad Khān, sore afraid, left the fort at night; but he knew not where to go, and he was caught near the camp of 'Abdullāh Khān and Lawand Beg by one Kūsa Par Qulī, an officer of Jarandāb Sultān, and he was killed, and his head was brought to the Shāh. Of four hundred men who fled with him two hundred and fifty were killed. Thus the Shāh conquered the district of Shakī. And he gave the governorship to Tawīqūn Beg Qājār. But Maḥmūd Beg, the Kotwāl of Kīsh, fearing without cause, fled from the Royal camp.

*Third expedition of the Shāh<sup>(2)</sup> to Georgia, and the ruin  
of the faithless rebels.*

While the camp was at Shakī Kaykhusraw, son of Qurqura, sent certain of the Georgian Chiefs to ask for help. For Wākhūsh the Georgian and Lawāsān Shīr Mazān had taken certain of his provinces. And at the same time it was heard that Sikandar Pāshā had come to Georgia, and was besieging Ardānūh. So the Shāh marched with speed from Shakī, and the Ghāzīs surrounded the hills and dales of the infidels, and levelled every place of refuge, nor did any escape. And the families and possessions of those polytheists were transferred to their slayers, as their lawful heirs. And the young women were taken captive. Then some took refuge in the hills, and in caves, and others in the forts of Mālīnkot, Arqarū, Darzabād, and in a wondrous church. And the Moslems slew many, and took the fort of Tūmuk and the other forts. Then it was said that there were many Aznāwars<sup>(3)</sup> in the fort of Darzabād and in the church, and they meddled with travellers. So the Shāh ordered Badr Khān Ustājīlū and 'Alī Sultān Takalū to attack the fort, which therefore they surrounded. Now it was on a height, near the gate of Tūmuk and the source of the river Kur, and in strength it was like the wall of Alexander and the castle of Khaybar. In the middle of the fort they had hollowed out a place ten cubits high, and made a church of four rooms and a long bench, and had painted its walls without and within with gold and lapis lazuli and pictures of idols, and arranged a throne in the second room, and an idol gilt and covered with precious stones, and with two rubies for the eyes of that lifeless form, and within the church was a narrow way one hundred and fifty cubits long to go up, cut in the solid rock. And they had two hidden kiosks for use in times of

trouble, and there were doors of iron and steel in the outer rooms, and a golden door in the inner ones. Then the Ghāzīs fell upon that place, and climbed above the fort, and slew the men, and took captive their wives and children. And the Shāh and his nobles went to see the church, and they slew twenty evil priests, and broke the bell of seventeen maunds weight seven times cast, and destroyed the doors of iron and gold, and sent them to the treasury. And Badr Khān Ustajlū broke four candles, each being sixty maunds of wax. Thus the Shāh got great booty; and in it were two rubies being the eyes of the idol, each worth fifty tūmāns. And they levelled the fort with the ground. So the Georgian Chiefs could go to no other place, and therefore they yielded, and came to the Court. First Amān Beg Georgian, Lawāsān Shīr Mazān Ūghalī, and Wākhus̄h, came in turn to the throne. And Kaykhusraw, the son of Qurqura, came with presents, and the Shāh gave him the fort of Tūmuk and Āqshahr and its dependencies, and put to death Wākhus̄h and Shīr Mazān Ūghalī, who were Governors of that country.

And when the sun was in the Scales, and it was autumn, the Shāh was minded to go to the country of Lawāsān bin Dāūd. And the army plundered the district of Barāt 'Alī, and got much booty. And the camp moved march after march to Qarābāgh. And there the winter was passed.

This year an ambassador came from the King of Portugal<sup>(4)</sup> by way of Ormuz, with gifts, and was received and suffered to return. And Dīn Muḥammad Uzbek sent Qūl Muḥammad to the Court. Khwāja Amīr Beg Kachchi, who held office as Minister, was sent to prison. He had been Wazīr of Ghāzī Khān Takalū, and, from certain reports, the Shāh was displeased with him. He was imprisoned for some time, and then it was ordered that he should live at Kirmān. Afterwards he became Wazīr of Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū, and then Mutawallī of the Rīḏawī shrine. And further reports of his lack of respect were heard. Still he was made Minister for the whole of Khurāsān, and this he was for four years. But the tyranny of his officers affected his reputation. And it came to the Royal ears that he was beginning to gain influence over the stars, and especially over the sun, which rules over kings, so that he might control the Shāh. And those who had seen how he kept a yellow calf on a high place opposite the sun, and stained his face with saffron, and put on saffron

garments, told these things in the Royal assembly. So the Shāh commanded that he should be shut up in a box, with his hands outside, so that he might not do those things which depend on the clasping of the hands. And he was sent to the fort of Qahqaha, and, years after, to Alamūt fort. And he is still alive in the present year, which is A.H. 980.

*A.H. 959. The Shāh goes to the Turkish lands, and spoils them.*

Iskandar Pāshā, having killed Hājī Beg Dumbalī in Khūy, came to Chukhūr Sa'd, and burnt the bāzār, and returned unopposed to his own country of Erzerūm. By reason of this His Majesty commanded an army to be assembled and sent in four divisions on four expeditions. So Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafawī,<sup>(1)</sup> Allāh Qulī Beg Aychak Ūghālī, 'Alī Sultān Takalū, Shamsu'd-dīn Khān<sup>(2)</sup> son of Sharaf Khān Kurd, Khalīfa-i-Anṣār,<sup>(3)</sup> Ḥamza Beg Ṭalish, Ulugh Khān Beg Sa'dlū, and others, to Arjīsh and Bārgīrī; Shāh Virdī Sultān Ziyād Ūghālī, and Adham Beg Rūmlū, to Pāsīn; Ibrāhīm Khān Zu'l-Qadar, Shāh Qulī Sultān Afshār, and Chirāgh Sultān, who were then in Fārs, to plunder Arabian 'Irāq; Bayrām Beg Qājār, Ṭawīqūn Beg Qājār, and Kaykhusraw, Governor of Georgia, to conquer Dāwīlī. And straightaway they all set out. Ma'sūm Beg, with two thousand horse, on Tuesday the seventh day of Sha'bān, set out from the summer quarters at Āq Manghān, with 'Alī Sultān Takalū, for Arjīsh; Shamsu'd-dīn Khān, for the plains of Mūsh and Akhlāt; Qāytams Sultān Khunslū and Allāh Qulī Beg Aychak, for 'Ādiljawāz; Ḥamza Beg Ṭalish and Khalīfa-i-Anṣār, for Bārgīrī and Band-i-Māhī. When Ma'sūm Beg reached Arjīsh, the Sultān's officer, Qarā Pīrī, came out of the fort to fight, and 'Alī Sultān went to meet him. 'Alī Sultān aimed a spear at Qarā Pīrī's throat, but was driven back. Then Ulugh Khān Beg Sa'dlū came, and the Turks were overthrown, and Qarā Pīrī withdrew wounded into the fort. The same day Khalīfa-i-Anṣār and Ḥamza Ṭalish fought with Muḥammad Beg and Khurram Āghā who were great officers of the Khwāndgār. Them they captured, killing one hundred and sixty of their men. On Friday the twenty-seventh day they sent their heads and gear to the court. And when Shamsu'd-dīn Khān arrived at Akhlāt, he killed about a hundred Turks, and took some thirty thousand sheep, ten thousand oxen and buffaloes, and three thousand horses, and plundered the country, and

returned to camp. When Qāytams Sulṭān and Allāh Qulī Sulṭān reached the enemy, the Turkish cavalry left the fort of 'Ādiljawāz to fight. But they overcame the Turks, and killed about a hundred. Meanwhile Ibrāhīm Beg Bukhtī,<sup>(4)</sup> going to the Sulṭān's court, met the Persians, and sixty of his men were killed, and two ass-loads of gold, one load of stuffs, and silver cups and goblets, were taken.

And Shāh Virdi Sulṭān Ziyād Ūghalī and Adham Beg Rūmlū, who had gone to plunder Pāsīn and Āvanīk, fought with Murād Beg, Governor of the place. And the Persians unseated him from his horse, and killed many of his men. Murād Beg threw himself into the fort. Therefore the Chiefs burnt the country, and then rejoined the Royal camp.

Then, having despatched his Chiefs, the Shāh moved from Āq Manghān. On Tuesday the twenty-fourth day he camped on the Aras, and from thence he marched straight to the fort of Akhlāt. And the men of the fort were beguiled by the strength of their towers, and fought with him. But the Turks were forced into the fort, and its bastions were destroyed by mines. A strange thing happened; a man who fell three hundred yards with one of the bastions was uninjured. The Kotwāl then yielded up the fort, which was levelled to the ground. Now before the Shāh set out for Akhlāt, he sent most of his Chiefs to Wān. They sent a thousand horse ahead, and followed slowly. Farhād Pāshā and Badr Beg Bukhtī and ten Kurdish Chiefs left the fort, and the Persian advance guard fell back fighting on the main force. Then the army appeared, and the Turks and Kurds could not withstand them, but fled to the fort. And the Qizilbāshes pursued and killed sixty of the Bukhtī Kurds and Turks. All the grain and houses of Wān,<sup>(5)</sup> Wustān, Amūk, Kawāsh, Albāq, and Khushāb, were burnt, and the Persians then rejoined the Royal camp at Akhlāt, by way of Guzil Dara and Kawāsh. At that time the Tehrān qūrchīs, and Muḥammad Beg Turkmān, and Amir Shān Beg Bayāt,<sup>(6)</sup> arrived according to orders, having plundered rebellious Kurds wheresoever they met them. When they reached Albāq the Kurdish Chiefs, Zaynal Beg and Shāh Qulī Balīlān, gathered a great host, and made ready to fight, but they fled at their coming. And the Ghāzīs plundered the country, and joined the Persian Chiefs at Wustān. Then the Shāh sent Shāh Virdi Sulṭān Ziyād Ūghalī and Adham Beg

Rūmlū to Bitlis,(?) after the sack of Pāsīn. And, coming to Mūsh, they attacked the forces of that place, and killed many; and a troop left the fort to fight, but many of them were slain. And the Chiefs, having burnt the district, set out for Bitlis. Muṣṭafā Beg, Nāṣir Beg Zarqī, and Abdāl Beg, with three hundred horse, left the fort to fight; most were killed, and the rest fled back to the fort. Having burnt the country, the Persians rejoined the camp.

At this time word came from Georgia that Sikandar Pāshā had overcome Bayrām Beg Qājār. Now Bayrām Beg and Kaykhusraw had gone to Dāwilī, and captured two or three forts. And Sikandar Pāshā marched with speed, and of a sudden fell upon them, when Bayrām and Kaykhusraw were away. Ṭawīqūn Beg Qājār and Badr Beg Yūzbāshī fought bravely, but the Turks were too many. And Sikandar Pāshā, having slain three hundred Ghāzīs and Georgians, returned to Erzerūm.

*The Shāh sends Prince Ismā'īl to Erzerūm;  
defeat of Sikandar Pāshā.*

When this news came, the Shāh commanded Prince Ismā'īl to go to Erzerūm, attaching to him Shāh Virdī Sulṭān Ziyād Ūghalī, Badr Khān Ustājilū, Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Ustājilū, Muḥammadi Beg Turkmān, Adam Beg Rūmlū, Amīr Ghayb Beg Ustājilū, Allāh Qulī Beg Aychak Ūghalī, Hamza Beg Ṭalish, Khalifa-i-Anṣār, Ulugh Beg Sa'dlū, Ibrāhīm Khalifa Alpāwat, Zu'l-faqār Beg Pāzūkī, Qunqura Sulṭān Rūmlū, with one thousand Tehrān qūrchīs and six hundred Nakhchiwan qūrchīs. And they set out with speed, and the Prince sent Shāh Virdī Sulṭān Ziyād Ūghalī, Muḥammadi Beg Turkmān, Adham Beg Rūmlū, in advance to Pāsīn, and himself followed. The Turkish force at Pāsīn was overthrown; it fled to Erzerūm with a loss of three hundred. When Sikandar Pāshā heard this he sent the Qullar Āghāsī of Erzerūm with two hundred and fifty horse to reconnoitre. They met fifty men of the Persian Chiefs, and were overthrown. Then Sikandar's Chiefs, being called in council, advised that they should retire to the fort; but, trusting in his numbers, being Turks and Kurds from Arzinjān, Tarjān, Bāyburd, Kamākh, Mar'ash, Trebizond, Kurdistān, and Georgia, he was minded to fight. So the next day he left the fort, and drew up in line of battle. Twenty wagons were posted in front. And the Prince came by forced marches, and

camped at Pāsīn, and sent ahead Adham Beg Rūmlū, who met and attacked Sikandar Pāshā's men, and took a certain man, who said that the Pāshā had come out of the fort, and was ready for battle. Then the Prince mounted his horse, and marched to the battle-field. And at the first there came to the battle Muḥammadi Beg Turkmān, Adham Beg Rūmlū, and Amīr Ghayb Beg Ustājlı; and after them Ulugh Khān Beg Sa'dlū, Ibrāhīm Khān Alpāwat, and the rest. And battle was joined. Then Sikandar Pāshā left the centre, and attacked; but he was surrounded by the Ghāzīs. The Prince took his place on a hillock, hard by the battle-line. And when the Turks saw his standard they fled to the fort. And the Persians pursued after them with speed. And many fell into the fort moat, which was choked with men and horses. And they forgot to close the gates, so that three Ghāzīs entered the fort. The Prince desired to enter the fight, but Badr Khān and Shāh Qulī Sultān seized his horse's reins, and tried to stop him. But the Prince was angered and abused them, and forced them to let go. Howbeit the qurchīs would not allow him to go into the battle. Two thousand five hundred and seventy-six Turks were killed, besides those that perished in the moat and elsewhere. Of the great Chiefs Kabīr 'Īsā,<sup>(8)</sup> Governor of Mar'ash; Maḥmūd Beg, who, in the time of Qānṣū, King of Egypt, was Governor of Aleppo; Ramazān Beg, the brother of Sikandar Pāshā; Pīr Ḥusayn Beg, Governor of Chamishguzik; Khayru'-d-dīn Beg, Governor of Malāṭiya; Muṣṭafā Beg, Wālī of Trebizond; Ḥaydar Beg, Mīr of Pāsīn; 'Alī Āghā, Qullar Āghāsī of the slaves of the Sultān; 'Alī Beg, brother of Sikandar Pāshā's wife; and the Qāzī of Erzerūm; were captured. And other Chiefs, and young nobles, and leading soldiers beyond number, were killed. At this time 'Uṣmān Pāshā, Governor of Qarāmān, and Khizr Pāshā Zu'l-Qadar, were at Arzinjān when news of this ruin was spread abroad in their camp: perhaps a number of men fled to the camp, and brought this dreadful news. So they left Arzinjān, and fled. The Prince camped over against the fort, and, after a few days, joined the Royal camp.

*Siege of the fort of Arjish by the Shāh.*

After the victory at Akhlāt, the Shāh commanded Badr Khān Ustājlı, with other chiefs, to advance and reconnoitre, and himself set out, and camped near 'Ādiljawāz fort, which he observed from a



hillock. The fort was under the command of Muṣṭafā Beg, son of Yullar Qisṭī Pāshā, who trusted in its strength, and sent out a force from it, of which many were slain by the Ghāzīs, who then marched on. And a Royal command was made that the army should be equipped and drawn up and should march. And the Shāh's tent was pitched over against the fort of Arjīsh, which was full of Kurds and Janissaries, and ready for defence. Then the Persians surrounded the fort, and fell upon it. The army was ordered to take cover, and Sūnduk Beg Qūrchībāshī took cover in a church near the fort. And a sortie was made from the fort, but five men were killed, and thereafter none dared to go out. For three months, by reason of the strength of the place and the depth of its moat, there was no way to assault, or to gain its towers. And Darwīsh Beg the gunner arrayed a gun, and fired; bringing dismay to the defenders.

*Bektāsh Ūghalī is sent by the Shāh to Akhlāt.*

Now when the Shāh sent Prince Ismā'īl against Sikandar Pāshā, it was heard that men were bringing ten loads of gold for the 'Ādiljawāz garrison. So Bektāsh Ūghalī was sent with one hundred and fifty qūrchīs to intercept it. When they arrived near Akhlāt, Muṣṭafā Beg, the son of Yullar Qisṭī Pāshā, Governor of 'Ādiljawāz, sent about three hundred men against the Ghāzīs. But the qūrchīs overcame them, and killed forty-seven, and brought their heads and their gear to the Court.

This year, too, Pahlawān Qulī Sulṭān<sup>(9)</sup> and Ḥājim Sulṭān<sup>(10)</sup> Uzbek of a sudden went from Khwārazm to the neighbourhood of Isfarāīn. And Majnūn Sulṭān Shāmlū, governor of the country, was slain in battle by them. And the Uzbeks plundered the country and returned home.

*A.H. 960. The Shāh's capture of Arjīsh fort.*

When Prince Ismā'īl returned victoriously from Erzerūm he joined the camp outside Arjīsh, and set up the heads of those slain at Erzerūm over against the fort. So the enemy, knowing that they could not withstand the Qizilbāshes, took counsel together, and they killed the Governor of the fort, Ibrāhīm Beg Bukhti, and brought up the Ghāzīs by one of the ruined ramparts. And the greater part of the Kurds they captured and brought below; and they scalped

them. And the Shāh commanded that the fort should be destroyed ; and so it was done.

*The conquest of the fort of Bārgīrī.*

Then the Royal camp turned to Bārgīrī, and they were set upon the capture of that fort. But Muḥammad Beg Zākir Ūghālī, Commandant on behalf of the Sultān, shut the gates, and fired on the attackers. And the Shāh ordered a general attack. Then Zākir Ūghālī and the Turks mounted the bastions, and asked for quarter, and, receiving it, came out of the fort, and handed it over to the Persians. And he was honoured and given presents. The Shāh then marched from Bārgīrī, and passed Dīv Jāma, and sent the Prince to raid Kurdistān. Shāh Qulī Balīlān, the Governor of that place, fled ; and some were captured and their goods were taken, and the army got much booty of goods and horses and mules and cattle and men ; and the Kurds were destroyed, so that the men of the country were free from their oppression. The Shāh also sent some Chiefs to raid the Maḥmūdī tribe. Ḥasan Beg, their Chief, having a helper, escaped from the hands of the Ghāzīs, and his brother took refuge at the Court, and was received honourably. The Shāh sent the Prince, with Sūnduk Beg Qūrchībāshī, Muḥammadi Beg Turkmān, and other Chiefs, to raid the Kūr country. But they could not cross the Kūr hills because of the snow, which was a spear's depth, and returned. Then the Shāh went back to his own country, and entered Nakhchiwān in the second month of Rabī'.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the Shāh sent Amīr Shams-u'd-dīn Dayljānī on an embassy to Turkey. Sultān Sulaymān spent the winter at Aleppo.

*Deaths.*

Sultān Muṣṭafā<sup>(1)</sup> bin Sultān Sulaymān Pādshāh of Turkey. It was reported by the Grand Wazīr that he was disloyal and he was put to death. 'Makr-i-Rustam' (Rustam's deceit) gives the date. And a few days later his son, Sultān Muḥammad, was also killed—'Sitam-i-mukarrar' (repeated tyranny) gives the date. Qāzī-i-Jahān<sup>(2)</sup> Wakīl—a Sayfī Sayyid of Qazwīn—was a gifted Wazīr, and an elegant writer, and a ready debater, surpassing all others, and by all recognized ;

just and God fearing; modest, notwithstanding his high degree. He was at first a servant of Qāzī Muḥammad Kāshī, and afterwards, in the days when Mirzā Shāh Ḥusayn was Wakil, he was, with Khwāja Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad of Tabrīz, Wazīr of Mirzā Shāh Ḥusayn. After the burning of Khwāja Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad he became independent Wazīr, and, at the time of the Takalū and Ustājlu dispute, he went to Gilān, and was imprisoned for some time by Muẓaffar Sulṭān, son of Ḥusāmu'd-dīn, who, because of an old quarrel, treated him with indignity. Between him and the Nūr Bakhshīs there was hereditary enmity; and Muẓaffar Sulṭān held himself a disciple of that sect; and they incited him to further acts of indignity. When Muẓaffar Sulṭān came into trouble Qāzī-i-Jahān left Gilān, and was again made Wazīr, together with Amīr Sa'du'd-dīn Ināyatullāh Khūzānī. But Sa'du'd-dīn was ever affronting the Qāzī, till he was freed from the hands and tongues of meddlers. After that the Qāzī became independent Minister, which he was for fifteen years. He lived past sixty, nay, up to seventy and eighty, and became too weak to continue, and asked permission to resign. But afterwards he repented; but in vain. Then he lived some days in Qazwīn. And the Shāh heard that certain dedicated villages were being enjoyed by him. The Shāh ordered them to be taken away with contumely, and also the equivalent of revenues received. But, before these orders were carried out, he repaired to Court, and the Shāh pitied his age, and forgave him, and gave him a grant; and he returned to Qazwīn. This year he died at the Zanjān river, and was buried at Shāhzāda Ḥusayn.<sup>(3)</sup>

*A.H. 961. The Turks conquer Shahrizūr.<sup>(1)</sup>*

This year 'Uṣmān Pāshā, by command of the Sulṭān, came to Shahrizūr, and Surkhāb Kurd, who had become Ruler of that country, after Biga Ardalān, was besieged in the fort of Zalam, and sent for help to the Shāh, who sent to help him Ibrāhīm Mirzā and Badr Khān and Amīr Ghayb Beg. They captured certain officers of the Turkish army, and brought them to the Persian Chiefs, and 'Uṣmān was sore afraid, and marched back to his own land. The Royal camp was then at the village of Arāiq, and Sayyid Shamsu'd-dīn Dayljānī, who had gone to Turkey, came back with a letter that lacked respect. Therefore the Shāh sent the Prince, and Ma'sūm

Beg Ṣafawī, and Shāh Qulī Khalīfa Keeper of the Seal, and Ghāzīs, to raid the Turkish lands; and Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Shāh Virdī Sultān Ziyād Ūghalī to raid Kurdistān. And the Prince plundered Wān, Wustān, Arjīsh, and 'Ādiljawāz, and returned safe and with booty. And Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Shāh Virdī plundered and burnt Kūr, and rejoined the camp with much spoil at Nakhchiwān.

*Fourth expedition of the Sultān to Ādarbāyjan.*

The Sultān left Aleppo in the spring with a large army for Ādarbāyjan. And the Shāh left Nakhchiwān for his summer quarters at Bāzarchāyī.<sup>(2)</sup> And Alwand Khān Beg Sa'dlū set out to scout and met Ghāzān Beg scouting for the Turks, and overcame him, and killed twenty-five of his men, and sent their heads to the Court. At this time the Sultān arrived at Nakhchiwān with an army that none could count, and covered the plain with his tents. Then the officers of Ḥasan Beg Yūzbāshī captured thirty Turkish scouts, and killed thirty others. And Alwand Khān Sa'dlū killed two hundred and fifty of the men belonging to the agent of Aḥmad Pāshā, the Grand Wazīr, who was following the Turkish army with stores. Then the Sultān burnt Nakhchiwān, and returned towards Erzerūm. And the Persians killed many Kurds, and took others capture. The Shāh sent Shāh Virdī to Pāsīn, which he raided before the Sultān came. When the Turks were thus abased, the Shāh left Bāzarchāyī, and marched towards the Turkish lands. And the Ghāzīs raided the province of Dāwīlī, and took much plunder. From the village of Qānlū Chamanī the Shāh sent Shāh Khalīfa, the Keeper of the Seal, towards Ūltī.<sup>(3)</sup> And the Persian Chiefs met Sinān Beg, who had come by the Sultān's order to repair the roads, and killed most of his men, and captured him, and sent him to the Royal camp. Now the Sultān had hinted at peace, and the Shāh, therefore, pardoned Sinān Beg, and sent him with Shāh Qulī Beg Qājār to the Sultān. And they represented what ruin was brought about by the war. So Sultān Sulaymān was inclined towards peace, and sent Shāh Qulī Beg back. And darkness was changed to light, and a covenant was made.

*Fourth expedition<sup>(4)</sup> of the Shāh to Georgia.*

At this time it was reported that the Gabrs were rebelling. So therefore the Shāh set out to destroy the land of the infidels. And

all that country was forest, so that the wind could not blow through the trees. And the infidels scattered, and Lawāsān, the son of Dāūd, the Governor of the land, fled to a place of refuge. And the Georgians, being sore afraid, escaped to the hills and caves and forests, and were besieged in forts. And the Ghāzis slew the men, and took capture their wives and children, and took booty, of cattle and sheep. Then the army marched on Gorī, the capital of Lawāsān, and plundered that land, and took prisoner fair young women and round-faced boys. Then they reached the fort of Mazrūt, which never yet had been conquered by the Moslems. And the troops surrounded it, and the Kotwāl Parsatān was dismayed, and left the fort, and yielded it up. Then the Shāh set out for the fort of Aydīn, the defenders whereof were Aznāwars; and Lawāsān had left his mother there. The Persians fell upon the defenders, and destroyed them with cannon and mines, and assaulted and entered the fort, and captured the mother of Lawāsān and most of the Aznāwars. Then the Shāh was told that there was a fort hard by, where the Georgians had taken refuge. Shāh Virdī Sulṭān Ziyād Ūghālī was appointed to take that fort. And he did so; and returned to camp. The army took many forts, and many prisoners, even more than thirty thousand, and much booty; and came to Barda'.<sup>(5)</sup> Then proclamations were sent around Persia with the glad tidings.

*'Abdullāh Khān's war with Qāsim Beg Shīrwānī.*

When Sulṭān Sulaymān came to Ādarbāyjān, he sent Qāsim Beg Shīrwānī by way of Kaffa to Shīrwān. So Qāsim passed by Darband, and came to Shīrwān. And the Shīrwānīs left 'Abdullāh in battalions, and joined him. 'Abdullāh met them at the village of Tanka and attacked, but, because of the strength of that place he could do nothing, and returned to Shamākhī. And Qāsim Beg came to the fort of Bīqrid and stayed there forty days, and then he left it, along with certain short-sighted men, for Gulistān fort; for there 'Abdullāh Khān was. And Qāsim withstood 'Abdullāh with two thousand horse and Janissaries; 'Abdullāh, too, had two thousand horse. The battle lasted from morn till between the two prayers. And fifteen hundred of the foe were slain, and the dependents of 'Abdullāh's camp came to help. Then the Shīrwānīs, thinking it was a reinforcement from the Shāh, fled towards Tabarsarān, and were

pursued by the Ghāzīs. And many were slain, and minarets of their heads were set up.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the Shāh sent Farrukhzād Beg Īshīk Āghāsī with a letter to the Sultān to cement friendship. And 'Uṣmān Pāshā came to Shahrizūr against Surkhāb, who left his country without a fight, and came to Mariwān,<sup>(6)</sup> and the Turks conquered the land.

*Deaths.*

Sulaymān Shāh bin Shīr Khān Afghān,<sup>(7)</sup> Ruler of Hindūstān. Then disorder spread in that State as far as the Indian Ocean.

This year also died Sultān Maḥmūd, Ruler of Gujarāt, and Nizāmu'l-mulk of the Deccan. Mawlānā Qāsim wrote verses on the death of these three kings.

Mawlānā Ḥayratī<sup>(8)</sup> was the leading poet of his time. He died this year at Kāshān from a fall from a kiosk. He wrote qaṣīdas and a diwān of ghazals, and the Bahjatu'l-mabāhiy, and a qaṣīda in reply to that of Khwāja Salmān Sāwajī, and a complaint against the Qazwīnīs.

*A.H. 962. The Shāh sends an army against Ubā.<sup>(1)</sup>*

This year news of the rebellion of Ubā Turkmān came, and the Shāh sent Kūkja Sultān Qājār, and 'Alī Sultān Ṭātī Ūghalī, with a company of warriors, to Astarābād. They, and Jarandāb Sultān Shāmlū, and Muṣṭafā Beg Warsāq, marched with speed towards the Yaqa Turkmāns, and captured their families. Some days after Ubā came against Jarandāb and Muṣṭafā, who defeated him. Sayf Beg Bayāt, who had left Kūkja Sultān's camp to scout, was met by Ubā and many of his men; and they captured him after much fighting. Then Kūkja Sultān and the other chiefs pursued Ubā, who fled to the Governor of Khwārazm, 'Alī Sultān Uzbek, and asked for help from him. So 'Alī Sultān marched against the Persians with a large army; but, when he came near them, he sent them presents of horses, and they sent back his officer with a dress of honour. After thus making peace, Kūkja Sultān died, and the rest returned home.

*The war of Humāyūn Pādshāh with Sultān Iskandar.<sup>(2)</sup>*

Now when Humāyūn came to know of the disorder in Hindūstān, he set out for that country with a large army. And he met and

overthrew Ḥusayn Khān and Faṭḥ Khān at the river Mākhūra. Then he marched on Delhi. Sulṭān Iskandar marched for Sirhind also with a large army, and surrounded his camp with a moat. And both got ready their armies and their elephants, and the Hindūs blew their conches. Then the first charge was made by Prince Jalālu'd-dīn Akbar, Bayrām Khān, Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī, Tardī Beg, and Bahādur Sulṭān. And in the end the victory was to Humāyūn. Many of the enemy were killed, and many were captured. And the next day Humāyūn marched on Delhi, and took possession of the land of Hind.

*Miscellaneous events.*

The Shāh marched from Qarābāgh, and arrived at Tabrīz. And His Majesty commanded a feast to be made in the Garden of the North, and he married Prince Ismā'īl<sup>(3)</sup> to a girl of his family. In the autumn the Shāh left for Qazwīn. And this year Ibrāhīm Khān Zu'l-Qadar was visited with the Shāh's displeasure on the fourteenth day of the first month of Rabī', and the governorship of Shīrāz was bestowed on 'Alī Sulṭān Ṭāṭī Ūghalī.<sup>(4)</sup>

*Deaths.*

Humāyūn Pādshāh bin Bābur Pādshāh bin 'Umar Shekh bin Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd bin Mirzā Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Mirān Shāh bin Ṣāhib Qirān Amīr Timūr Gūrgān.<sup>(5)</sup> Untimely sleep came over him, and his staff broke, and he fell violently from the roof, and died straightaway. He was a splendid king, learned and a patron of learned and skilful men. His gifts were never less than a lakh, which is two hundred tūmāns. He reigned for twenty-six years and his realm was from Qandahār to the middle of Hindūstān. Mawlānā Qāsim Gāhī<sup>(6)</sup> wrote verses on the date of his death. After his death his eldest son Jalālu'd-dīn Akbar succeeded him. His other son Muḥammad Ḥakīm Mirzā stayed at Kābul. And Bayrām Khān Bahārlū<sup>(7)</sup> kept all power in his own hands, and Akbar had nought but the name of King.

Khwāja Jamālu'd-dīn Muḥammad was a learned and eloquent man, and, notwithstanding his great acquirements, he was free from pride. And he learned from Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad Dawwānī. He died this year. Among his works is an Iṣbāt-i-Wājib, against Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn.

*A.H. 963. The war between Shāh Virdī Sulṭān Ziyād Ūghalī and Lawāsān, the Georgian.*

This year Lawāsān left Gorī and came to the neighbourhood of fort Kūsh.<sup>(1)</sup> And Shāh Virdī gathered together the Qarābāgh army, and moved against him. So Lawāsān fled, and the Ghāzīs pursued after him, leaving Shāh Virdī with only fifty men. And Lawāsān waited on rising ground to fight, and he overthrew the Ghāzīs and slew three hundred. And most of the infidels entered upon pursuit, but Lawāsān stayed behind with a priest. Meanwhile Muḥammad Beg Chapanī, with a few men, came upon Lawāsān unawares, and straightaway fell on him. And Lawāsān fell from his horse, and was wounded by Zākīr, one of Muḥammad Beg's men. Then the Gabrs in turn attacked. And Muḥammad Beg escaped on Lawāsān's horse. The Gabrs killed Zākīr and others of the Chapanīs, but Lawāsān,<sup>(2)</sup> who was a man of mischief and rebellion and infidelity, died. And the Gabrs took up his body, and retired to their own land.

*Events in India. The war of Akbar with Hemū the Hindū.*

Now when news of the death of Humāyūn reached Āgra the infidel Hemū thought of being king, and gathered together men from every province, and marched towards Delhi. And Tardī Beg, the Governor of that city on behalf of Akbar, could not withstand him, but fled. So Akbar commanded a vast host to set out. And 'Alī Qulī Khān Uzbek, and Bahādur Sulṭān, were sent to reconnoitre; and the Emperor followed them. Scouts reported that Hemū had arrived at Sirhind. In the morning Akbar entrusted his forces to his Chiefs, Bayrām Beg Bahārlū, Tardī Beg, Muḥammad Qāsim Nayshāpūrī, and Ḥusayn Qulī Zu'l-Qadar; and he made 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Sulṭān advance guard. And Hemū prepared his weapons of war, and four hundred elephants. And in the beginning 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Sulṭān attacked the infidels. Then Hemū was struck by an arrow, and killed. And the Hindūs were smitten and fled, and were pursued and put to the sword. And Akbar conquered, and camped on the field of battle.

*The siege of Qandahār by the Amīrs.*

When Humāyūn had conquered India Bayrām Khān Bahārlū, the Emperor's chief man, gave Qandahār to Shāh Muḥammad



Qalāṭī,<sup>(8)</sup> and himself set out for India. Therefore Bahādur Sultān, the son of Ḥaydar Khān Uzbek, Governor of the Land of Dāwar, besieged Qandahār. And Shāh Muḥammad Qalāṭī sent messengers to ask the Shāh for help, and Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā, son of Bahrām Mirzā, Walī Khalifa Shāmlū, and Allāh Qulī Beg, son of Dāna Beg Afshār, were sent with many men. At this time Shāh Virdī Beg, son of Khalifa Shāmlū, fell suddenly upon Bahādur Sultān, who, after they had fought, fled to India. But Shāh Muḥammad Qalāṭī shut the gates of the fort in the face of the Ghāzīs, who surrounded the city of Qandahār, and fought with the enemy for nearly three months. And one day Shāh Muḥammad, with his men, came out, and attacked Walī Khalifa when his men were scattered. Nevertheless he was bravely resisted by some, and many were killed on both sides, and the enemy retired again to the fort. Then, with the approval of Ḥusayn Beg Aychak Ūghalī, the Persians marched off to Khurāsān, but Khalifa Walī Shāmlū came to the Land of Dāwar, and, after much fighting, conquered the fort.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the Shāh gave Herāt to Prince Ismā'il, and sent for Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā. Summer quarters were at Daryāwuk.<sup>(4)</sup> This year the Chiefs repented of all their sins.

*Deaths.*

Burāq Khān<sup>(5)</sup> bin Sūnjuk Sultān bin Abū'l-Khayr Khān bin Dawlat Shekh Ūghalan bin Fūlād Ūghalan bin Ayba Khwāja bin Taghatāy bin Balaghān bin Shaybān bin Jūjī bin Chingīz Khān. When he took Samarqand from the sons of Abū Sa'id Khān, and the land around Bukhārā from Burhān Sa'id, 'Ubayd Khān's grandson, he also took the province of Miyānkāl, which now is known as Shāhrukhiyya,<sup>(6)</sup> from the sons of Jānī Beg Sultān, and the cities of Sabz and Qarshī, which belonged to the sons of Fūlād Sultān, from them. And he claimed the right to lead a canal from the Shāhrukhiyya river, between Tāshkand and Samarqand, to a fertile valley on the Samarqand side; for in winter the way between these cities was closed by snow; and he would have twenty thousand men of his tribe to winter in that plain, and be near him. By chance he went on this work to the aforesaid plain; and he drank wine, and

made approaches to the son of his secretary. The lad wounded him five times with a knife, and fled to the Chiefs of Ḥiṣār. And Burāq Khān died of his wounds. His age was fifty-six, and his country was Tāshkand, Farghāna, Samarqand, and four parts of Bukhārā. Darwīsh Sultān, his eldest son, became Khān, and Bābā Sultān, Amīr Sultān, Khwārazm Sultān, and all his other brothers submitted. When news of Burāq's death reached Kāshghar, Rashīd Khān,<sup>(7)</sup> Governor of that land, gathered his forces and made for Andijān, for Burāq's father Sūnjuk Sultān had taken it from his father. And Burhān Sa'īd, too, got possession of all the neighbourhood of Bukhārā. And Ḥaqq Nāzar Khān Qāzāq moved from the country of Qurq and Qurbā, with the hope of getting Tāshkand. After Burāq, coinage and prayers were done in the name of Pīr Muḥammad Khān bin Jānī Beg Sultān. In a short time the sons of Iskandar Khān, 'Abdullāh Khān and 'Ibadullāh Khān, grew up, and raised to the throne their father, who was seated in the nook of obscurity and retirement. And Pīr Muḥammad Khān was forced to coin in his name.

Mīr Asadullāh Shūshtarī<sup>(8)</sup> was an accomplished Sayyid, versed in the sciences, both experimental and historical. He was born at Shūshtar, but passed most of his life at Mashhad, where he studied religious and philosophical subjects, and was the most prominent of those that attended the Mujtahid of the Time. When Muizzu'd-dīn Muḥammad's resignation was confirmed, the Shāh took counsel with his learned men and nobles, and the Mujtahid recommended Mīr Asadullāh, who was sent for and given the Ministership. He composed works in most of the sciences; among them he translated at the command of the Mujtahid of the Time, when in his service, a tract of curses, and a tract concerning the signs of the appearance of the Lord of Command,<sup>(9)</sup> entitled *Jilā'u'l-'uyūn*, proving the existence of that Being. And this year he died.

*A.H. 964. The Shah goes to Tabriz. The arrest of Qāzī Muḥammad and Haydar Beg Anīs.*<sup>(1)</sup>

Early next spring the Shāh left Qazwīn for the Sahand summer quarters. Qāzī Muḥammad, son of Qāzī Musāfir, had vexed all men by his licentious ways. So the Shāh commanded that he should be seized; and then he marched from Sahand to Jarandāb, and at that

time the Qāzī's protector, Haydar Beg Anīs, was taken. And these two were imprisoned in the Alamūt fort. Then the Shāh set his face towards the capital (Tabriz), where he was met by all the chief persons. And soon after he set out for Qazwīn, where his winter quarters were.

*Events in Transoxiana; war of the Uzbeks with one another.*

Now Sultān Sa'īd bin Abū Sa'īd Khān bin Kūchum Khān, with 'Abdullāh Khān<sup>(2)</sup> bin Jānī Beg Sultān, set out, with unnumbered hosts, to take Samarqand. And they besieged that city. Meanwhile Darwīsh Khān, son of Burāq Khān, the chief of the Uzbek Sultāns in splendour and size of army and extent of land, came out from Tāshkand, to fight Sultān Sa'īd and 'Abdullāh Khān. They met at the village of , and Darwīsh Khān was overthrown, and fled to Tāshkand. Then Sultān Sa'īd took Samarqand, and 'Abdullāh set out for Būkhārā. At this time Burhān Sa'īd,<sup>(3)</sup> grandson of 'Ubayd Khān, Governor of the district, was attracted by a boy, and went secretly at night to his house. And the youth killed him, and sent his head to 'Abdullāh Khān. And the Būkhārā army yielded up the city to 'Abdullāh, when they heard of Burhān Sa'īd's death.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year Shāh Virdī Sultān Ziyād Ūghālī and Sulaymān Bayāt, with the Qarābāgh army, attacked Georgia. The Georgians fled to the hills, and the Ghāzīs plundered all the Gorī country and Sūrī, and Barāt 'Alī, destroying villages and houses and trees and fruit. They then returned to Ganja. At that time the Shāh was at Tabriz. Tabit Āghā Zu'l-Qadar, who had gone to Turkey as envoy, returned to Court with presents from the Khwāndgār.

This year Dūst Khān<sup>(4)</sup> fought with Yūnus Khān, and overthrew him, and took Khwārazm. Yūnus Khān, with his brother Pahlawān Qulī Sultān, came to Qazwīn, and was received. The date is given by 'Khwārazmiya'.

*Deaths.*

Kāmrān Mirzā<sup>(5)</sup> bin Bābur Pādshāh. After his brother's defeat he ruled in Kābul and Ghaznīn. At last he was caught by Humāyūn and blinded. And after this he dwelt at Mecca, and died this year.

Muḥammad Khān Sharaf Ūghalī Takalū, Governor of Herāt. The Shāh bestowed his province on his son Qazāq.

*A.H. 965. The Ghāzīs' war with Ubā Turkmān.*

Now Ubā Turkmān came to the Astarābād district, and Ibrāhīm Khān Zu'l-Qadar, being sore afraid, humbly appealed to the Shāh. Therefore it was commanded that Shāh Qulī Khalīfa Muhrdār and Badr Khān Ustājilū should march with speed against Ubā. So on the second day of Sha'bān they left Qazwīn with many men, and were joined by all the Chiefs, Yādgār-i-Muḥammad Beg Turkmān, Ḥasan Beg Ūghalī, Qāsim Beg Dārogha Ūghalī, Aḥmad Beg Qiya Ūghalī. Then Ubā, when he heard of their advance, left his family and fled, and the Ghāzīs plundered his camp. But Ubā again appeared and joined battle. The battle lasted till night, for the Persian horses were tired, but Ubā at last fled to his camp, having captured a string of animals in the way. And the next day he collected men, and again attacked and again fled, for the horses of the Ghāzīs had thrown off their fatigue. And the Turkmāns, dismayed by this battle, took the road to Khwārazm, and asked help from 'Alī Sultān. And the Persian Chiefs marched with speed to the Atrak, suffering from the heat of the desert. And Shāh Qulī Muhrdār, their Chief, died of colic on Saturday the eighteenth day of Ramaẓān. And the other Chiefs obeyed not Badr Khān, but each did as seemed good in his own eyes. And, after some days, they wearied their horses by attacking the camp of the Turkmāns. Then they heard that 'Alī Sultān, brother of Dīn Muḥammad, forgetting his duty, had left Khwārazm with a large army to help Ubā, and was nigh at hand. So Badr Khān set out to attack. Now 'Alī Sultān, being cautious, had surrounded his camp with a ditch and an embankment of sand-bags, and had made his camels lie down, and posted his musketeers. And the Ghāzīs began to fight; and when they reached the ditch they were fired on. Ubā came with two hundred men behind the army, and Badr Khān, notwithstanding the warning of the other Chiefs sent none to keep him off. So Ubā came from behind, and fired. Then the servants were forced back by the Turkmān fire on the horsemen, and the centre was thrown into confusion. But Rustam Khān and a party of Ghāzīs passed the ditch, and entered the centre of the Uzbek camp, and 'Alī Sultān in confusion thought to flee.

But Rustam chanced to be struck by gun-shot and killed, and the Uzbeks, taking heart, fired on the Ghāzīs. Thus the Persian Chiefs were overthrown, and driven into the Gurgān river, and many were drowned. Their horses, riderless and free, went grazing in the desert. Ibrāhīm Khān and certain horsemen were killed, and Badr Khān and Yādgār Turkmān were captured. Husayn Beg Faṭḥ Ūghalī and Aḥmad Beg Qiyā Ūghalī and a company of Ghāzīs escaped to Dāmaghān. But 'Alī Sulṭān left the place, and returned to Khwārazm.

*The conquest of Qandahār Fort by the Persian Chiefs and the Prince.*

Now when Humāyūn fled to the Shāh he covenanted that he would hand over Qandahār when he recovered India. But he died soon after he reconquered India. Then the Shāh ordered Sulṭān Husayn Mirzā, son of Bahrām Mirzā, and 'Alī Sulṭān, Governor of Shīrāz, to essay the capture of Qandahār. So they set off, and camped near the Qandahār Fort, and began to attack it. Shāh Muḥammad Qalātī, the Commandant on behalf of Akbar, withstood them bravely, but at last he was forced to surrender the fort, and hand over its keys. Then he repaired to Akbar's court, and the Persians returned to their homes.

*Miscellaneous events.*

On the night of the twenty-second day of the first month of Jumādā a flood at Qazwīn<sup>(1)</sup> ruined two thousand houses. This year the Shāh left the old palace, and went to his new palace. Mawlānā Muḥtasham<sup>(2)</sup> gives two dates in one commemorative line.

*The murder of Ubā Turkmān.<sup>(3)</sup>*

Now Ubā, after he had defeated the Persians, married a daughter of Khwāja Muḥammad, son of Khwāja Muẓaffar Bitikchī; and Khwāja Muḥammad's servants went to him. And they plotted with his wife to kill Ubā. But he heard of their plotting, and sent for Muḥibb 'Alī and his companions, and warned them. Then they were afraid, and told his wife, and she bade them to have horses ready, and told them where Ubā was. So Muḥibb 'Alī entered Ubā's tent, and found him asleep, and cut off his head, and sent it to the Shāh at Qazwīn. And he and Ubā's wife fled on horses towards Astarābād.

*Deaths.*

Shekh Zaynu'd-dīn Jabal 'Āmili<sup>(4)</sup> was a man of scientific and historical repute, who was martyred this year, being sent for by Rustam Pāshā, the Grand Wazīr of the Khwāndgār, from Mecca and put to death; for the Sunnīs said he was a Shī'a, nay a Rāfiẓī. Among his works are:—Commentaries on the Sharāyi' and the Luma', and the Alfiya and Shāfiya; Rules, following the Rules of the Shekh-i-shahīd<sup>(5)</sup>; Tract on the Secrets of Prayer; Tract on the Ceremonies of the Pilgrimage; Tract on the Dignity of the Disappearance.

*A.H. 966.*

This year Sultān Sulaymān dismissed Sultān Bāyazīd<sup>(1)</sup> from the governorship of Kūtāhiya, and gave it to his eldest son Sultān Salīm, who was in Qonia. Then Bāyazīd began to distribute things to the people, and gathered an army, and marched against Salīm towards Qonia. And the Sultān, being told thereof by Salīm, sent Aḥmad Pāshā, Amīru'l-umarā of Anatolia, and Farhād Pāshā, Governor of Qarāmān, and 'Alī Pāshā Zu'l-Qadar, in haste, to seize Bāyazīd and kill him. And when they came near Qonia, Salīm came out of the fort, and joined them. The armies met near the city, and Bāyazīd attacked. They fought from morn to eve, and eight thousand men were killed. In the morning the fight was continued. And Bāyazīd overthrew his enemy's right and left wings, which fled as far as Constantinople; but his centre was broken, and he fled towards Amāsia. There he cut off the heads of three of his officers, and sent them to the Sultān, and wrote a letter, asking for pardon, and saying he had been misled by those people. But the Sultān would not listen, and sent an army after him. So he fled to Erzerūm, where the Governor, Ayāz Pāshā, sent a courtier to meet him with gifts. So Bāyazīd stayed there; but Iskandar Pāshā, with forty thousand horse, marched by the Sultān's order after him. And he was fain to leave his kit and fly with ten thousand trusted followers; and Qūdūz Farhād, and Āq Sāq Sayfu'd-dīn, and others, got him safely out of that fight. Then Iskandar pursued after him as far as Qarāmān. And Bāyazīd reached Erivān. The Governor of that province, Shāh Qulī Sultān Ustājlu, sent a message to the Shāh's Court with the news, and His Majesty sent Ḥasan Beg Yüz-

bāshī with gifts to the Prince. So Bāyazīd went to Tabriz, and there met him there Amīr Ghayb Beg Ustājlu, the Governor, and the chief Sayyids and notables, and multitudes of the people. And they had lit up the Qaysariyya and bāzārs, and musicians played. And Bāyazīd came to the Qaysariyya, looking straight over his horse's ears and paying heed to nought. And he stayed at Jarandāb, and left after a few days.

*Miscellaneous events.*

The Sultān this year sent Sinān Beg, who had been captured at Qānlū Chamanī and set free by the Shāh, with presents and compliments to the Shāh's court.

*Deaths.*

Mawlānā Abū'l-Ḥasan, son of Mawlānā Aḥmad Bāvirdī. He was an accomplished and high souled man, unrivalled in keenness of intellect. He died on Sunday the twenty-sixth day of Ramazān. Among his works are:—*Iṣbāt-i-Wājib*; *Rawzatul-jinān*, on philosophy; a tract on logic; a commentary on Naṣīru'd-dīn's *Farāiz*, on succession; text of the *Shawāriq* on scholastic theology; and a note on metaphysics. The writer read a commentary on the *Tajrid* under this great man.

*A.H. 967.*

Now when Bāyazīd came near to Qazwīn, Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafawī and other chief nobles, Sayyid Beg Kamūna, Sūnduk Beg Qūrchī-bāshī, and 'Alī Qulī Khalīfa, the Keeper of the Seal, went to receive him; and he came with his troops like a wall of iron, with arms and guns, and with Arab horses, into the Square at Qazwīn. And the Shāh left his army in that place, and went with the Qūrchībāshī, and Ḥusayn Beg of the archer qūrchīs, and two other courtiers, to meet him, fearing nought of his power. And Bāyazīd dismounted, and they shook hands, and came back together to the Court, and sat side by side. And some days later the Shāh gave a feast for Bāyazīd and his nobles, and gave him well-nigh ten thousand tūmāns, in money and in kind. Then the Shāh sent Āqcha Siqāl 'Alī Qājār with Sinān Beg, who had come from the Khwāndgār, to Sultān Sulaymān, with a message, saying, that the Sultān should be friends with Bāyazīd. At this time Bāyazīd had in his heart hostile thoughts. And his plans were reported to the Shāh by Qarā

Ughūrlū and Maḥmūd the Circassian, two of his intimates. But Bāyazīd found it out, and had them killed one night. An officer, 'Arab Muḥammad of Trebizond, approached the Shāh when he and Bāyazīd were walking in the garden, and said privily that he had a word to say. And the Shāh promised him an audience. But Bāyazīd, hearing of this, had that poor man killed. So the Shāh was fain to think of dealing with Bāyazīd. And all saw the effect on His Majesty. And at the Thursday evening prayers the people gathered, and cursed, and threw stones at Bāyazīd's house. The Shāh was not pleased, yet could he not prevent it. So on the Friday morning certain nobles went to his house, and brought him and his sons to the palace. And in the evening he was stripped of his power, and his traitorous officers, Lala Pāshā Farrukh Beg, Sinān, Master of the Horse, 'Isā Chāshnīgīr,<sup>(1)</sup> Khwāja Ambār, and others, were put to death. And his eldest son, Ūr Khān, was handed over to Ḥasan Beg, Sultān Maḥmūd to Ma'sūm Beg, Sultān Muḥammad to the Qurchibāshī, and Sultān 'Abdullāh to Mīr Sayyid Sharīf. And he himself was kept within the palace and qurchīs were placed over him.

*The war of Budāq Sultān Qājār and the Ghāzīs with the Uzbeks,  
and their defeat.*

This year Sārū Qūrghān,<sup>(2)</sup> and a company of Uzbeks, came to Nayshāpūr by command of 'Alī Sultān. Budāq Sultān Qājār, and Malkān Ūghālī Zu'l-Qadar, left the city to meet those misguided ones. And they fell upon the Uzbeks and overthrew them, and slew Sārū Qūrghān and a number of his men. And some fled into the water channels. But the Ghāzīs brought them out, and killed them.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Early in Ramaẓān the Shāh fell ill. After two months' sickness he recovered. This year, too, 'Isā Khān,<sup>(3)</sup> son of Lawand Beg, Governor of Georgia, became converted to Islām.

*A.H. 968. The war of Shāh Virdī Sultān Ziyād Ūghālī with the  
Georgian Chiefs. Death of Karkīn.*

This year Simon, Governor of Georgia, together with Karkīn, the son of Lawand Beg, came to the neighbourhood of the fort of



Kūch, desiring to attack Tiflis, and sent round Georgia to gather an army. Then Shāh Virdī Sultān, hearing of this, left Ganja with the Qarābāgh army to destroy the enemy, and sent a regiment ahead to scout. And they filled up the ditch which the Georgians had dug at Darband. Shāh Virdī passed this ditch, and met the enemy at the village of , and overthrew them. And Karkīn fled: but he and a thousand infidels were killed. Zāza Beg and many Georgian chiefs were taken, and sent to the Shāh. Simon, and a few men, escaped towards Gorī. And Shāh Virdī returned to Ganja with much booty. So Lawand and the Georgians mourned and put on sackcloth.

#### *Miscellaneous events.*

Winter and summer quarters were at Qazwīn. Ambassadors from Turkey, being 'Alī Pāshā, Governor of Mar'ash, Ḥasan Āghā Qāpūchī-bāshī, and seven hundred and six men, arrived at Qazwīn on Tuesday the twenty-second day of Rajab with gifts. And the chief nobles visited them. After some days the Shāh, and the princes and nobles and Ministers, called 'Alī Pāshā and Ḥasan Āghā to a darbār. And the ambassadors were honourably received, and addressed, and were feasted, and returned to their quarters. And some months later the Shāh presented them with Arab horses, and dresses of honour, and saddles chased with gold, and sent Ja'far Beg Ustājilū back with them to Turkey.

#### *Deaths.*

Mirzā Sharaf,<sup>(1)</sup> son of Qāzī-i-Jahān of Qazwīn, was the Shāh's Agent, and a man of great gifts and learning. In truth he was more gifted even than his noble father. And his heart was inclined to poetry. And, when his father was Wazīr, he was wont to act for him. He was a calligraphist, and used to go too little to the Shāh, and this vexed his father. In short the great vice of Mirzā Sharaf was his association with Mawlānā Fazīl of Khalkhāl, whose wickedness was well known.

Rustam Pāshā,<sup>(2)</sup> the Grand Wazīr of the Sultān and his son-in-law, died on the eleventh day of Shawwāl, and 'Alī Pāshā became Grand Wazīr in his stead.

*A.H. 969.*

Walī Beg Yasāwalbāshī Ustājilū, who had gone to Turkey as ambassador, arrived at Qazwīn, on Thursday the fourteenth day of Zi'l-qa'da, with the Khwāndgār's envoys, Khusraw Pāshā, Governor of Wān, and 'Alī Āghā-i-Qāpūchibāshī, and two hundred men. On Saturday the seventeenth day they met the Shāh in the Sa'adatābād garden, and presented a letter from the Khwāndgār. Before this Farrukhzād Beg had been sent, and had made a covenant, providing that each side should surrender refugees. Accordingly, on Thursday the twenty-first of Zi'l-qa'da, Sultān Bayazīd and his sons were surrendered to the Turks, who put them to death; and, on the last day of the month, they returned to Turkey with their friends and the bodies. 'Five from the Turks' gives the date.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year on the seventeenth day of the second month of Rabī' Dāūd Beg, son of Lawāsān, with a company of the Aznāwars came from Georgia to Qazwīn. And he became a Moslem, and was appointed to the governorship of Tiflis. Also, 'Alī Beg Uzbek raided certain of the districts of Khurāsān, and returned to Khwārazm, and Qazāq sent his brother, Ḥusayn Qulī, to raid the Hazāra country. And he did so, returning to Herāt with sheep and goods. But about three thousand horses died in his camp.

*Deaths.*

Princess Sultānam,<sup>(1)</sup> daughter of Shāh Ismā'il and full sister of the Shāh, died on Wednesday the fourteenth day of the first month of Jumādā. She was born in A.H. 925.

*A.H. 970. The seizing of 'Īsā Khān,<sup>(1)</sup> son of Lawand Beg.*

Now 'Īsā Khān took precedence over all the nobles, and yearly he had six thousand tūmāns as a grant. But, being persuaded by deceitful polytheists, he abjured the faith, and tried to fly. But the Shāh was informed by one of his servants, and on Thursday the twenty-sixth day of the second month of Rabī' he seized him, and sent him to the castle of Alamūt.

This year Sultān Sulaymān sent Īlias Beg with gifts and five

hundred thousand ashrafīs<sup>(2)</sup>—which are equal to thirty thousand tūmāns—and forty horses caparisoned, among which was a bay horse whose speed was as that of fire to mount on high, or of water to rush headlong. And these envoys arrived at Qazwīn on the nineteenth day of Šafar, and presented their gifts at an audience. Moreover the Shāh sent presents to the Transoxiana Uzbeks, Pīr Muḥammad Khān of Balkh, ‘Abdullāh Khān of Bukhārā, and Sulṭān Sa‘īd of Samarqand.

*Miscellaneous events.*

Amīr Taqīu’d-dīn was allowed to retire from being Šadr. In Zī’l-qa’da the Šadārat of ‘Irāq, Fārs, and Khūzistān, was conferred on Amīr Muḥammad Yūsuf, a chief Sayyid of Astarābād; and in the middle of Zī’l-ḥijja the Šadārat of Shīrwān, Khurāsān, and Ādarbāyjān, was given to Amīr Zaynu’d-dīn ‘Alī, son of Amīr Asadullāh Mar‘ashī. Winter and summer quarters this year were at Qazwīn.

*Deaths.*

Mawlānā Quṭbu’d-dīn Baghdādī, a man of great acquirements in scientific and historical learning and theological matters. He was a pupil of Amīr Ghiyāsu’d-dīn Maṣṣūr, and a favourite courtier of the Shāh. He died at Qazwīn this year.

Mawlānā Nūru’d-dīn, son of Mawlāna Kamālu’d-dīn Ḥusayn, an unrivalled scientist, an expert in Šūfiism, especially in Tajrid. He succeeded to his father as physician to the Shāh, who at last imposed on him the duties of Wakīl; but he refused to accept this work. He died this year on Monday, the twenty-seventh day of Rajab. Mawlānā Muḥtasham has a poem about him.

*A.H. 971. The coming of Pīr Muḥammad Khān Uzbek.*

This year Pīr Muḥammad Khān, son of Jānī Beg Sulṭān, and Governor of Balkh, went to Mashhad with a large army, but returned, and did no harm, and sent his uncle, Tūlak Bahādur, to the Persian Court to apologize. The Shāh sent Ḥusayn Beg Yasāwal-bāshī back with Tūlak to Balkh. After Pīr Muḥammad Khān’s return, ‘Alī Sulṭān Uzbek, and his brother’s son Abū’l-Khān, came to attack Khurāsān, and camped at Turuq. They were busy fixing their camp, when the Qizilbāsh Chiefs, Šafī Walī Khalīfa Rūmlū,

and Qambar Sultān Ustājlı, and the officers of Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, left the city and attacked, and killed many Uzbeks. At night the two armies separated, and 'Alī Sultān, in fear, left for his own land. He attacked Isfarāīn, and lost many men, and returned home with loss.

*Miscellaneous events.*

The Shāh sent Ma'sūm Beg Şafawī with a large army to take Māzandarān. Amīr Murād Khān feared, and sent an agent to the Court, offering to yield the province to whomsoever the Shāh might appoint. The Shāh, thereupon, confirmed him as ruler.

This year many princes sent presents to the Shāh. And among them Sultān Maḥmūd Khān,<sup>(1)</sup> Governor of Bakar, sent Abū'l-makārim with all manner of gifts, and Abū'l-Khān, too, sent tribute. Their envoys were given dresses of honour, and sent back.

*Deaths.*

Khānish Khānam,<sup>(2)</sup> the Shāh's sister, died, and was buried at Karbalā in Ḥusayn's tomb. Shāh Ni'matullāh of Kirmān became sick, and—since all must die—died. He was the brother-in-law of the Shāh.

*A.H. 972. The capture of Qazāq.*

Now Qazāq, ungrateful for the favours shown him, began to be rebellious, and to cherish vain thoughts of independence. And he acted as a tyrant, and drove people from Herāt and its districts, and seized their goods. When the Shāh heard of this, his anger was kindled, and he commanded Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, Ma'sūm Beg Şafawī, Amīr Khān Turkmān, Walī Khalifa Shāmlū, Shāh Qulī Sultān Afshār, Nazar Beg Ustājlı, Şadru'd-dīn Khān Şafawī, Urūs Beg Rūmlū, Ḥaydar Beg Turkmān, Amīr Aslān Afshār, and Khalīl Beg Kurd, to set out for Herāt. And first they were to call Qazāq to order, and, if he obeyed and sent five thousand horsemen to the Chiefs, they should go to his camp, and should honour him; but, if he rebelled, they were to deal with him. At that time Muṣṭafā Beg and Muṣīb Beg, brothers of Qazāq, tried to kill him, but they could do nothing. So therefore an army was sent, and they joined Şāfī Walī Khalifa Rūmlū, the Governor of Ghūriyān, at that place. Then Qazāq sent his brother, Ḥusayn Qulī, to fight against his

brothers and against Ṣāfi Walī Khalīfa, who sent a courier to tell the Amīrs. And when Ma'ṣūm Beg heard this, he marched against Qazāq's men, and reached them on the Monday. And Ḥusayn Qulī and the men of Qazāq had as yet received no certain news of their coming, when they arrived. So they were thrown into confusion. But certain men destined for destruction resisted. On the Saturday morning, the tenth day of the second month of Rabī', the scouts came up with the enemy, and fell upon them, and reached the centre, but were thrown back by musketry fire. Then Walī Khalīfa Shāmlū came to help, and attacked and defeated Qazāq's men, who fled, losing eighteen hundred. Then the Persian centre came, strengthened by officers such as Ibrāhīm Mirzā and Ma'ṣūm Beg Ṣafawī. The remnants of Qazāq's forces escaped. And some reached the city, but others were scattered. And Qazāq's son, Ja'far Beg, forsook his father, and fled towards Balkh to Pīr Muḥammad Khān, and from thence to India.

Now when Qazāq heard of his army's defeat, he tried in vain to gather forces to defend the city. And in despair he repaired to the Princes, Sulṭān Muḥammad Mirzā and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā, at the fort of Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn. Then Ma'ṣūm Beg Ṣafawī entered the fort alone, and brought Sulṭān Muḥammad Mirzā out; and then at last Qazāq, being helpless, ceased from his frowardness, and on the evening of Friday, the sixteenth day of the second month of Rabī', came out of the fort. And the Amīrs confined him, and sent news thereof to the Court. So Qazāq was punished for his injustice and tyranny to the Herāt people; but in this state he died.<sup>(1)</sup> And the Amīrs stuffed his head with straw, and sent it to the Court. Then they wintered at Herāt.

*The wars in the Deccan.*<sup>(2)</sup>

This year Chandrāy, King of Bījānagar, sent messengers to the Rulers of the Deccan, demanding certain of their lands. So these princes sent to one another, and made a covenant. And Nizām Shāh left Aḥmadnagar with an army and many elephants, and, with 'Ādil Shāh and Quṭb Shāh, marched against the infidels. When Chandrāy heard of this he went with a great host to meet them. And the Moslems, hearing of the coming of the infidels, crossed the Krishna and camped over against them. Now Chandrāy had

a hundred thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, and five thousand elephants. And Nizām Shāh was in the centre, and 'Ādil Shāh on the right, and Quṭb Shāh on the left. And the armies were intermingled. And Nizām Shāh's elephant went to the help of Quṭb Shāh's. The two together overcame Chandrāy's, which fled, and hurt Chandrāy with its tusk, and he fell to the ground of disgrace. And the Moslems prevailed, and slew nearly five thousand, and took captive Chandrāy. But he would not utter the confession of faith, and therefore was slain by the order of Nizām Shāh. And much booty was taken, and Bijānagar was plundered; and many jewels got, and none were left in the land. And the Moslems returned to their homes.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year Pahlawān Qamarī<sup>(3)</sup> gave the fort of Khabūshān, to the Ghāzīs. Before this 'Alī Sultān ruled there. This year the Mīr of the town left men there, and went to 'Alī Sultān's Court. And, while he was away, the Pahlawān shut the gates, and killed some of the men, and turned out the army. And he sent the keys of the fort to the Persian Court. Then 'Alī Sultān came to the fort, but he returned without fighting. And the Shāh gave the province, and the keys to Pahlawān. And this year, too, the Shāh did away with transit dues<sup>(4)</sup> worth about thirty thousand tūmāns.

*A.H. 973. The siege of Abīward by the Amīrs.*

In the spring the Persian Chiefs, having left Ghayb Beg at Herāt, marched for Nisā and Abīward. When Abū'l-Khān heard of their coming he took refuge in the fort of Abīward, and sent envoys and asked for quarter, and swore that he would abandon his raiding and would send yearly tribute. So the Chiefs marched away, back to the Royal Court.

*Deaths.*

'Alī Sultān bin Ulūs Khān bin Muḥammad Amīn bin Yādgār bin Tīmūr Shekh Ūghalan bin Ḥājī Tūlī bin 'Arab Ūghalan bin Fūlād Ūghalan bin Ayba Khwāja bin Taghatay bin Balaghān bin Shaybān bin Jūji bin Chingīz Khān, was a champion of scamps and thieves, of bad character, and unattractive form. And his tyranny, daily increasing, was noised abroad throughout Khwārazm.

This year he left Khwārazm to plunder Astarābād, but that place was blessed by his death at the village of . And after his death Ḥājim Khān conquered his province.

*A.H. 974. The Shāh sends Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā to be Governor of Herāt.*

This year the Shāh bestowed the governorship of Herāt on Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, and sent Yakān Shāh Qulī as his adviser. They left Qazwīn for Khurāsān. When tidings of this reached Transoxiana, Iskandar Khān, King of Bukhārā, took counsel with his sons and nobles about raiding Khurāsān. And they consented thereto; and 'Abdullāh Khān, his eldest son, set out, and crossed the Oxus. When the Prince heard of this his men were scattered, and he took refuge in the fort of Turbat, which the Uzbeks surrounded. But the Khurāsān Chiefs prepared to fight. Shujā' Beg, son of Muṣṭafā Beg Warsāq, and twenty men on the day of the battle fought their way into the fort. And the Uzbeks despaired of taking the fort, and Khusraw Sulṭān was the first of them to march away. Next day 'Abdullāh Khān too sounded the retreat. He destroyed the dam at Murghāb, and marched to Bukhārā. Then the Prince set out for Herāt.

*Sulṭān Sulaymān leads an army against the Frankish country.*

In the spring Sulṭān Sulaymān gathered a large army, and set out for the land of the infidels. And he detached Partav Pāshā to take the fort of Gyula. And the Pāshā took that fort, and rejoined the camp. Then the Sulṭān besieged the fort of Szigetvār. The Turks could not take it, till they mined it and blew it up with gunpowder. And they killed a number of the infidels, and took much goods. But Sulṭān Sulaymān died before the capture; and the army took the fort before they knew that he was dead.

*Deaths.*

Sulṭān Sulaymān bin Sulṭān Salīm bin Sulṭān Bāyazīd bin Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Sulṭān Murād bin Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Bāyazīd bin Sulṭān Murād bin Ūrkhān bin Sulṭān 'Uṣmān bin Artughrul bin Sulaymān bin Qiyā Alp, who was descended from

Ughūz Khān. The Sultān fell ill before the fort of Sziget, and daily grew worse. So he sent for his Grand Wazīr Muḥammad Pāshā, and commended the empire to him, and appointed Sultān Salīm his successor, and died. He was seventy-four years of age, and had reigned forty-eight years. His territory was Arabian 'Irāq, Basra, Diyārbakr, Dāwīl of Georgia, and the country of the Zu'l-Qadars, Aleppo, Syria, Egypt, Qarāmān, Taka Īlī, Anatolia; of the west, Tripoli; and Jazīra, Ḥijāz, Yaman, Aden, Khaṭīf, and Kaffa; and from Constantinople to the fort of Vienna.<sup>(1)</sup> And when he died Muḥammad Pāshā kept it secret, and sent men to Kūtāhiya to call Sultān Salīm. And he sent the body secretly to Constantinople, to be buried in the dome which had been made for him. Then Sultān Salīm set out with speed for Adrianople. When he reached Constantinople, he had the *Khuṭba* read in his name, and departed for the camp. There most of the army hastened to meet him. When he joined the camp, he made known Sulaymān's death; and then he returned to Adrianople.

There were thirteen Sultāns of this family—'Uṣmān, Ūr Khān, Murād Ghāzī, Īldarim Bāyazīd, Amīr Sulaymān, Mūsā Chalabī, Muḥammad, Murād, Muḥammad, Bāyazīd, Salīm, Sulaymān, and Salīm. The family has reigned up to the present, which is now A.H. 980, two hundred and ninety-one years.

'Abdullāh Khān bin Qarā Khān Ustājlı, brother-in-law of the Shāh, died this year in Shīrwān.

#### *A.H. 975.*

This year Simon Beg, son of Lawāsān, gathered together horse and foot, and made for Tiflis. When this was noised abroad, Dāūd Beg, son of Lawāsān, Governor of the fort on behalf of the Shāh, left the city to meet and fight him.<sup>(1)</sup> When these two armies approached Ibrāhīm Khalifa Qarāmānī in his folly, even though all the Aznāwars warned him, prepared to fight Simon and was smitten by the Aznāwars and slain, and most of his men left him. And he fled towards Tiflis. Again he gathered many men, and, with Ḥusāyn Beg Qarāmānī, went to the field of battle. But after a fight he was overthrown, and took refuge in the fort of Tiflis, which Simon surrounded. Howbeit Simon, a few days later, set out for his own land.



*Miscellaneous events.*

This year an ambassador, whose name was Muḥammad, came from Sulṭān Salīm to Qazwīn, with a letter offering to confirm their friendship. And he was honoured and sent back. And Sulṭān Salīm sent Iskandar Pāshā with an army to take the islands, the Chiefs of which had raided Basra. They sent messengers to him, confessing their faults, and promising a yearly tribute of fifteen thousand florins. So Iskandar returned to Baghdād.

*Conquest of Gilān by the Chiefs and Ghāzīs.*

This year Khān Aḥmad,<sup>(1)</sup> Governor of Gilān, was misled, and rebelled, and hearkened not to commands and to warnings, though all his forefathers had been vassals of the Empire. Now Ḥasan Beg had been sent to conciliate him, but he reported how he had seen his enmity. Then the Shāh's anger was kindled, and he sent Amīra Sāsān to Kaskar with an army, for Khān Aḥmad had driven him out of the country. And after a hard fight, he overcame Sa'īd, who was Aḥmad's general, and killed him and many of his officers. The Shāh then sent Ṣadru'd-dīn Khān Ṣafawī to Resht. And Aḥmad's Governor at that place, Kiyā Rustam, was captured with many of his horsemen, and sent to the Court. At that time the Shāh had brought up his sister's son, Jamshīd Khān,<sup>(2)</sup> and honoured him with retainers and insignia. Him the Shāh sent at this time to the government of Gilān Bīya Pas, and Khān Aḥmad handed over the whole country of Bīya Pas as far as Kūchisfān to him. Then the Shāh sent Yūl Qulī Beg Zū'l-Qadar to take Kūchisfān from him, and give it to Jamshīd Khān. But Khān Aḥmad sent Amīr Shāh Maṇṣūr with an army and Gilān men to withstand him. And Shāh Maṇṣūr fell upon Yūl Qulī Beg of a sudden, and killed him after much fighting. When the Shāh heard this, his anger was kindled, and he commanded a large army of foot soldiers to repair to Court from Ādarbāyjan and 'Irāq, and to set out for Gilān with the Chiefs, and take it. Then Khān Aḥmad was afraid, and repented, and sent messengers to Court. But the Shāh put no trust in them, and dismissed them unsuccessful, and commanded the Ghāzīs to advance on Gilān from two directions. Sulṭān Muṣṭafā Mirzā; Amīr Khān Turkmān; Qūch Khalifa Muhrdār; Naẓar Beg Ustājilū; Ḥaydar Beg Turkmān, Governor of Sāwa; Aḥmad Khalifa Wafādar Shāmlū;

Ḥamza Beg Ṭalish; and, of the Chiefs of Ādarbāyjān, Ibrāhīm Beg Ziyād Ūghalī; Khalifa-i-Anṣār, Governor of Qarājādāgh; Ibrāhīm Khalifa Alpāwat; Zaynal Beg, son of Ibrāhīm Khān Zu'l-Qadar; Amīra Sāsān, Governor of Kaskar; Aḥmad Sulṭān, of Biya Pas; Kāmran Mirzā, Governor of Kūtam; these, with the Ādarbāyjān infantry, were to go by way of Kūchisfān to Lāhijān. Before the armies gathered, Amīr Khān, Nazar Beg, and Ḥamza Beg Ṭalish, left Qazwīn with their men, and arrived within four leagues of the city. They heard that Khān Aḥmad was at Daylamān with many men. So they hastened against him. In fear Khān Aḥmad threw himself into Lāhijān, and the Ghāzīs captured his camp, and arrived at Kharkām and Daylamān. Ma'ṣūm Beg Ṣafawī, too, set out with men for Lāhijān. Then Khān Aḥmad sent Jahāngīr, General of Lāhijān, and Shāh Maṣṣūr, General of Daylamān and Lashtanashāh, with ten thousand horse and foot to meet them. And they set up a stockade, and got themselves ready to fight. But Ma'ṣūm Beg fell upon it, and the enemy feared and fled without fighting to Lāhijān; the Ghāzīs killed one hundred and fifty and captured three hundred and fifty, and settled in Lāhijān. And the provinces of Gīlān, Kūk, Lashtanashāh, and Kīsam, were taken. Khān Aḥmad fled to the mountains of Ashkūr. Then Ṣadru'd-dīn Khān and Ziyā Aḥmad Sulṭān, and Bāyandur Khān Ṭalish, and Amīra Sāsān, and Ḥamza Beg Ṭalish, and Mirzā Kāmran, followed after him. They killed Amīra Bahādur and some other Chiefs, and returned to Ma'ṣūm Beg's camp. Nazar Beg Ustājilū, Amīr Ghayb Beg Ustājilū, Qūch Khalīfa Keeper of the Seal, Pīra Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū, Amīr Aṣlān Beg Afshār, and Ḥaydar Beg Turkmān, set out through the jungles. And on the way they caught Khān Aḥmad's son-in-law, Malik Uways Rustamdārī, and handed him over to Malik Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, his brother, and kept all his goods for the Royal use, and then they camped at Tanakābun. And Khān Aḥmad was three months in the mountains of Gīlān. Then the Shāh sent Allāh Qulī Beg Aychak Ūghalī, Shāh Qulī Beg Rūmlū, and Mirzā 'Alī Beg Qājār, with eight hundred qūrchīs, by the Ashkūr road to Gīlān. The sun was then in the third stage of Capricorn, and the cold was great. And Ḥusām Beg, son of Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī, with eighteen men, surprised Khān Aḥmad in the early morning. He hid in a stable, but he was caught and brought to Allāh Qulī Sulṭān. On

Tuesday the sixth day of Rajab the Chiefs brought him with his goods to the Court, and after some months the Shāh sent him to the fort of Qahqaha, and gave the governorship of Gilān to Allāh Qulī Sulṭān Ustājlı, Iskandar Beg Afshār, Ḥamza Beg Ṭālīsh, Zaynal Beg Zū'l-Qadar, and Sharaf Khān Kurd.

Mawlānā 'Abdu'r-razzāq Ṣadr, who was imprisoned in Qazwīn, was sent to the castle of Kharsak.<sup>(8)</sup>

Khān Aḥmad reigned thirty-two years. Eleven persons of this family were rulers, namely, Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā; Kār Kiyā Rīzā Kiyā; Kār Kiyā Mīr Sayyid; Kār Kiyā Nāṣir Kiyā; Kār Kiyā Sulṭān Muḥammad; Kār Kiyā Mīrzā 'Alī; Kār Kiyā Sulṭān Ḥasan; Kār Kiyā Sulṭān Aḥmad; Kār Kiyā Sayyid 'Alī; Kār Kiyā Sulṭān Ḥasan; Kār Kiyā Khān Aḥmad. They reigned for two hundred and five years.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the Shāh sent Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Ustājlı, with gifts and a letter seventy cubits long, to congratulate the Sulṭān and to confirm peace. They met the Sulṭān at Adrianople, and offered their gifts. And after some months they returned to the Persian Court.

*A.H. 976. The Shāh sends an army to Georgia. Simon Beg<sup>(1)</sup> is taken.*

Now Simon Beg left the path of rectitude, and did much evil at Tiflis. Shamkhāl Beg the Circassian, Ibrāhīm Beg Alpāwat, and 'Alī Qulī Beg Qājār, were commanded to go with Dāūd Beg to Georgia, and take Simon Beg, and send him to the Court. So they set out. And Simon Beg took refuge on a high mountain, where he was besieged. Then Simon, from excess of pride, attacked the army, and slew a Ghāzī. But a certain brave man threw him from his horse, and captured him. And the Gabrs fled; some were killed, and others were taken captive. Then the Chiefs, having cleared the land of its disturbers, returned, and sent Simon Beg to the Court.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafawī,<sup>(2)</sup> Wakīl of the Shāh, set out to make pilgrimage to the Holy Places; and he was fallen on by Turks, and killed, with forty-eight of his men. They reported

that this was done by Arab robbers. Therefore Sultān Salīm sent 'Alī Āghāsī and the Chāūshbāshī to the Persian Court to apologize.

This year, too, Mawlānā Amīr Abū'l-Faṭḥ, a Sayyid, died of a sudden at Ardabil. He was a pupil of Mawlānā 'Iṣāmu'd-dīn, and he studied in Transoxiana, and settled at Ardabil. Among his works are: Commentaries on the Kubrā; on the Morals of Discussion; on the Tahzīb on Logic; on the Treasury of Knowledge; on the Elements of Jurisprudence; on a Discussion of the Absolute Unknown; on the Maṭālī'; also, a Tract on the Elements of Jurisprudence; and Notes on the eleventh chapter of the Persian Commentary on the Qurānic Commands.

*A.H. 977. The Shāh sends an army to the hot tract of Jirūn.<sup>(1)</sup>*

This year the Shāh heard that the Governors of Jirūn were doing much evil, and he commanded to change them. And he sent the Governor of Kirmān, Ya'qūb Beg Afshār, with an army. They took refuge in the castles of Bunyād-i-buzurg and Shamūl which, by reason of the heat of the place, had never yet been conquered by any King. But the Ghāzīs besieged the place, and the enemy yielded, and the forts were taken.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year the King of Venice sent an army to plunder the Turkish dominions. The Turkish Governor of Herzegovina, Qāsim Beg, and Farhād Beg, hastened to meet them, and overthrew and pursued them, and took five qādarghas, twenty galleons, and two bārjas. At this time the Frankish leaders, with a certain accursed infidel named Chashna and three thousand men, attacked and were defeated by the Moslems.

This year Uzbek Sultān bin Rustam Sultān bin Jānī Beg Sultān came to attack Khurāsān, and camped at Jām. And Zaynal Beg the Governor, son of Ibrāhīm Khān Zu'l-Qadar, sent a company of warriors to fight them. But Zaynal's Wakil, Ḥamzā Beg Sanjar Ūghalī, was killed, and the Uzbeks returned home with plunder. Then Zaynal Beg sent round about Khurāsān for help. So Amīr Ḥusayn and Hājī Sultān Kotwāl came with about nineteen hundred horse. Thus strengthened Zaynal Beg pursued the Uzbeks, and, notwithstanding the counsel of Amīr Ḥusayn and Hājī Kotwāl,

they came up with the Uzbeks at Pul-i-Khātūn. And Uzbek Sultān lay in ambush with seven thousand warriors, and sent a few to meet the Persians. Then the Ghāzīs attacked those men. And they feigned flight, and Uzbek Sultān came out, and the Persians were caught between the two forces, and overthrown. Zaynal Beg, and Amīr Ḥusayn, and a thousand brave men, were killed. But Ḥājī Kotwāl escaped. Uzbek Sultān cut off the heads of the slain, and set out for Andikhūd and Shiburghān.

*A.H. 978. Sultān Salīm sends an army to the Island of Cyprus.<sup>(1)</sup>*

Now the infidels of Cyprus had long been tribute payers. But they rebelled, and they robbed and molested men. So Sultān Salīm took counsel with his Ministers, and sent Partav Pāshā his second Wazīr, Aḥmad Pāshā the third Wazīr, Ḥusayn Pāshā Chief of Rumelia, Muṣṭafā Pāshā Lala, 'Alī Pāshā Governor of Mar'ash, Qāsim Pāshā Ruler of Anatolia, and Bahrām Pāshā Governor of Sīwās, with an army, to capture the Cyprus forts. They set out with ships, and took about seventy small forts, and camped, with siege weapons, over against the castle of Nicosia. And the Frankish generals fired on them; but they surrounded the castle and destroyed its walls with gun-fire. And the Frankish warriors bore themselves bravely, and the castle was defended for about two years. But in the end an assault was made, and the enemy fled. Their families and wives were captured, and much booty taken. Then a large force attacked the castle of Famagusta, the commandant of which, one Yatan,<sup>(2)</sup> entrusting the gates to careful men, fired upon them, and kept them off. The Turks surrounded the castle. And the Ruler of Venice sent eighteen ships with powder and provisions, but Qilij 'Alī captured them, and killed the Franks in them, and brought down the castle walls with heavy mortars. Howbeit the infidels mined beneath the Anatolian camp, and blew up many Turks. After a year the defenders' powder came to an end, and they knew they could not further withstand the Turks, and they consented to surrender, and came to the Sultān's Court. Then they were permitted to remove their goods by ship, and to return to Venice. But a Turkish prisoner escaped, and he reported that the Venetians had killed three hundred Moslems. Muṣṭafā Pāshā, angered by this, flayed Yatan and killed the rest of the infidels.

After this Sultān Salim sent Partav Pāshā to conquer Corfu. The Turks plundered Corfu, Akiya(?), Kafalia (Cephalonia ?), and Kanif (?) and took four qādarghas, and three bārjas from the Franks, and returned to Constantinople.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year 'Askarī Khān Tātār,<sup>(3)</sup> together with the Pāshā of Kaffa, at the command of the Sultān, came with an army and ten thousand navvies to Qūrbānbāzī, and began to dig a canal to join the Volga and the Don. Having finished this, they set out in ships for Astrakhān to take it. When news of this reached the Governor of the city on behalf of Ivan the Terrible, King of Russia, he was dismayed and sent presents to the Khān. As the Khān did not desire to take Astrakhān, he sent a report to the Sultān, saying that if the Volga were joined to the Don, and if their waters joined the Black Sea, floods might threaten the whole of Constantinople. Therefore it was ordered that they should stop digging the canal; and the Khān and Pāshā returned to their own land.

*A.H. 979.*

This year Sultān Salim sent Sinān Pāshā, with the army of Egypt and Janissaries and Chiefs, to capture Yaman. For Muṭahhar Lang<sup>(1)</sup> had conquered this country after Sultān Sulaymān's death. The Pāshās, after much fighting, took the castle of Kawkabān and about forty small forts. This year, too, Dawlat Girāy Khān Tātār, Governor of Kaffa, set out for Russia, under the Sultān's orders. The Governor, Ulugh Beg,<sup>(2)</sup> sent Ivan Bulbula, his chief general, to meet him. The Russians seized the bank of the river Qūlūmūla,<sup>(3)</sup> and prevented the Tātārs from crossing. For nineteen days the battle continued. And on the twentieth Dawlat Girāy Khān attacked, and put the enemy to flight. When Ulugh Beg heard of this, he left his camp and court, and fled in fear. And the Tātār army attacked Moscow, and captured all the folk of that city, old and young, men and women, and all the goods and jewels of the infidels, and set fire to the city, which was of wooden houses. Ivan Bamki and two hundred thousand infidels were burnt. Dawlat Girāy Khān, after this signal victory, returned with vast booty and ninety thousand prisoners, back to his own land.

*The fighting between the Ustājīlū and Gharīblū<sup>(4)</sup> qūrchīs  
and the men of Gilān.*

Now the Shāh had made Allāh Qulī Sultān Ustājīlū Governor of Gilān. And he left a company at Lāhijān, and himself went to his summer resort. Then the Gilān army rebelled, and made a certain Sayyid Ḥusayn their Governor, and he made Dubbāj his general. And, being filled with pride in his army and power, he did evil, and set on foot sedition, and fell upon the Šūfis at Lāhijān castle, and overcame them, and slew them all, men and women and children. Then he attacked Bektāsh Beg, son of Allāh Qulī Beg, who fled without fighting, and was killed by the Gilānīs. And Amīra Sāsān, with a large force, left Kaskar<sup>(5)</sup> to attack the Gilānīs; but, after a hard fight, he was overthrown, and most of his men were killed, and he himself escaped with difficulty.

Then the Shāh took counsel with his courtiers, and it was decreed that the Chiefs should go against the Gilānīs. Qūch Khalifa, Keeper of the Seal, and Amīr Ghayb Beg, were sent with others, accompanied by Ustājīlū and Gharīblū qūrchīs. And the qūrchīs were talking of brave deeds; therefore one hundred and thirty men set out for Gilān without the leave of their Chiefs; and they camped at Kīsam.<sup>(6)</sup> And when the Gilānīs knew how few they were, they set out to attack them. But in the battle the qūrchīs prevailed and slew about a thousand; and the enemy, who numbered more than twenty thousand, fled. And the qūrchīs with much booty, camped at Lāhijān, and sent the heads of the slain to the Court.

*A.H. 980.<sup>(1)</sup>*

This year the Sultān sent Partav Pāshā and 'Alī Pāshā<sup>(2)</sup> to take the island of Corfu with three hundred ships. They plundered that country, and set out for Crete. That land also they spoiled, and cast anchor at the island of Injīl.<sup>(3)</sup> And the Governor of Venice and Phillip the King of Spain, who was the greatest of all the infidel kings for size of army and extent of empire, sent one hundred and eighty qādarghas, six māwnas, and a thousand guns, so great that they took a cannon ball equal to a great circle. And skilful gunners were on the ships. Then Qarā Khwāja<sup>(4)</sup> was sent to reconnoitre. He returned and counselled the Turks to avoid battle. But they would not hearken. The first attack was made by 'Alī

Pāshā. But it was met by heavy fire, and the Turkish ships were damaged. Then some Franks, who were prisoners in 'Alī Pāshā's ship, set themselves free, and cut off 'Alī Pāshā's head, and hung it up by a noose. Thereupon the Turks were overcome. And the Franks smashed Partav Pāshā's ship, and he fell into the water, but was bravely dragged out, and brought by Raīs Khākī, by means of a grappling-iron, into his own ship. And Qilij 'Alī<sup>(5)</sup> took three Frankish ships and escaped from the battle. Then the infidels pursued the Turks, and took a hundred and seventy of their ships, and slew Qarā Khwāja, Raīs Qāsim, Rāīs Ṣaliḥ, and Raīs Qarāmān with many men. And Partav Pāshā came to Constantinople in confusion and ruin.

*The War of 'Askarī Khān with Ivan the Terrible.*

This year 'Askarī Khān, Governor of the Crimea, with his son Dawlat Girāy Khān, moved against the Russians. And Ivan the Terrible, who is known as Ulugh Beg, gathered together his army and crossed the river Oka and camped at Sakka<sup>(6)</sup> which is on the border of Sitna. And when the Khāns arrived they attacked on two sides. But Dawlat Girāy was captured, and 'Askarī fled; and the enemy pursued, and killed a great number.

*Quarrels among the Uzbeks.*

This year Mīrzā 'Alī Beg Nāimān rebelled from Tanam Khān, and went to 'Abdullāh Khān at Bukhārā, and reported that to take Balkh would be an easy thing. So the Khān crossed the Oxus, and pitched his tent near Balkh. And Tanam shut the gates, and was besieged. And they fought for nearly eight months, till at last Tanam Khān came out of the castle of Hindawān, having made terms, and saw the Khān, who gave Balkh to Mīrzā 'Alī Beg Nāimān, and set out for Andikhūd and Shiburghān. The Governor, Uzbek Sulṭān, did not fight, but yielded to the Khān, who gave the town to one of his officers, and set out for Bukhārā.

*Miscellaneous events.*

This year a light was seen near the North Pole for nine months. Once before in the time of Anastasius, King of the Eastern Empire, contemporary with Qubād, father of Nawshīrwān, such a sign



appeared at the North Pole, and lasted seven months, and then fell as dust. Thereafter plague arose in the cities of the Eastern Empire. This year, too, in the city of Qāin a thing like wheat was rained down, and men made bread of it.

### *Deaths.*

Mawlānā Muṣliḥu'd-dīn Lārī died, aged nearly ninety years. He was a pupil of Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Maṣṣūr of Shīrāz; thereafter he went to India, and was Humāyūn's chief Minister. After Humāyūn's death he set out for the Holy Places but was wrecked, and nearly four hundred of his books were lost; and he himself hardly escaped to Constantinople, where he was honourably treated by Sulṭān Salīm, and sent to Āmid. Among his works are:—Notes explanatory of the commentary on the Mawāqif; Notes on the old Notes of Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn Dawwānī; Notes on Jāmī; Notes on Shāfa'ī Jurisprudence; Commentary on the Shamāil of Tirmizī; Commentary on the Traditions; Commentary on the Suratu'l-Qadr; History of the family of Uṣmān, now Sulṭān of Turkey; Tract on Chess; Tract on Veterinary Science.

### *A.H. 981. The killing of the Tabrīz rabble.*

Now the Shāh had appointed Allāh Qulī Beg Ustājilū to the governorship of Tabrīz. And the men of the Darjūya gate caught one of his officers, and injured him much. And he was fain to beg for the man's release, because of the smallness of his force. But some days after he killed the guilty man, whose relatives buried him in the tombs of Kachal. And the Governor was minded to dig up his grave, but a company of roughs prevented it, and he was forced to fly. Then the rabble killed and wounded some of his servants, and began plundering and rape and sodomy. And all men were alarmed beyond measure. In every street one of the rabble ruled, Pahlawān Yārī at the Sanjār quarter; Nashmī at the Darjūya gate; Sharaf, son of Muṣṭafā, at the Cypress gate; the Shawl maker's son at Mihād Mahan; Āghā Muḥammad at the Nobar gate; Pahlawān 'Iwaz in the Square; Aṣlān at the A'alā gate; Mīrzā Malikānī with Kūkja in the camel drivers' quarter; and 'Alāy Ḥasan Jān at Shish Gilān. For about two years there was fighting and the Shāh hearkened not to his nobles and Ministers, thinking that he might

not slay his subjects, and expecting that they would cease from rioting. Howbeit when the rabble persisted, the Shāh sent the prudent and wise Yūsuf Beg Ustājlu. And Yūsuf Beg made the rabble swear to cease from opposing; and he took security from the headmen of the town. Then Pahlawān Yārī again opposed the Governor, and killed two of his men; and again they set to rioting. So Yūsuf sent to the Shāh, saying, that the rioters were but four hundred men; that the chief men of the town also complained; and that the learned decreed that the men should be killed. So Suhrāb Beg, son of Khalifa-i-Anṣār, was sent with troops to help Yūsuf Beg, and to act as he might order. And when they arrived at the Ṣāhibābād square, Yūsuf Beg met them. Then the rioters hid themselves. And Yūsuf Beg took their sureties, who searched for and arrested most of the men, and put them to death, hanging the leaders as an example, Kūkja, Nashmī, Sharaf, Shanji the fuller, Ḥasan the boot maker, Ḥājī Dirāz, Shāh 'Alī Chartak, Mīrzā-i-Bābā Qulī, and Ḥusayn the green grocer; one hundred and fifty men besides these were killed. Yārī, Pahlawān 'Ivāz, and 'Alī Ḥasan Jān, were imprisoned in Suhrāb's house. And Suhrāb protected them, because they excited his avarice. But Yūsuf Beg made him hand them over, and they were put to death, and their heads were gibbeted in the Square. And Pahlawān 'Ivāz's head was fastened by a hook, which he had had for three years.

*Akbar takes Gujarāt.*<sup>(1)</sup>

Now Akbar was minded to go to Gujarāt, and punish the officers of that province. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, grandson of Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyqarā, was met on the way, and he fled after much fighting. And the Emperor arrived at Aḥmadābād the governorship of which he gave to Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka, and then he returned to Āgra. And while he was away Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Governor of Gujarāt, came to Aḥmadābād with an army and elephants to fight. And Akbar, hearing of this, hastened back, and reached Aḥmadābād again in nine days. And at that time Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka was fighting with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā. And the Emperor defeated and captured him, and took much money and jewels, and having given the country to Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka he returned to Āgra, and sent proclamations of his victory throughout Hindūstān.

*Miscellaneous events.*

There was plague in Ardabīl this year, and about thirty thousand persons died in the city and suburbs. The Shāh gave the post of Chief Finance Minister to Sayyid Ḥasan of Farāh and Khwāja Jamālu'd-dīn 'Alī of Tabriz, and the auditorship of the Minister's office to Mirzā Shukrullāh Iṣfahānī, fixing five hundred Tabriz tūmāns as remuneration for both these offices.

*Deaths.*

Mawlānā 'Abdullāh Yazdī died in 'Arabistān. He was a pupil of Mawlawī Khwāja Jamālu'd-dīn Maḥmūd. Among his works are:—Notes on the old Notes of Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad Dawwānī; Commentary on the Tahzīb on Logic.

*A.H. 982.*

The Shāh fell sick of a burning fever. And the hearts of men were dismayed. And there were disputes among the Chiefs. But Mawlānā Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn cured the Shāh with a soothing medicine. This year, too, the King of the Franks, Don Sebastian,<sup>(1)</sup> who is known as the Portugal, sent envoys with gifts to the Court. But as he had before done evil, ruining mosques and burning Qurāns, they were not favourably received, and certain of the Chiefs were appointed to correct those unfortunate ones.

*Deaths.*

Sulṭān Salīm<sup>(2)</sup> bin Sulṭān Sulaymān bin Sulṭān Salīm bin Sulṭān Bāyazīd bin Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Sulṭān Murād bin Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Īldarim Bāyazīd bin Sulṭān Murād bin Ūrkhān bin Sulṭān Uṣmān bin Arṭughral bin Sulaymān bin Qiyā Alp bin Qizil Būqā bin Bāyandur bin Ujūlja' Āghā bin Tughiyān bin Qayd Sūn bin No Yaqūr bin Bāqī Aqāib bin Şūnjuq Āghā bin Taḥtamūr bin Yūsātī bin Kumak 'Alī bin Ughūz bin Qarā Khān, died this year on the sixth day of Ramaẓān at Constantinople. The Grand Wazīr Muḥammad concealed his death from the nobles and Ministers, and brought Sulṭān Murād secretly to the city and set him on the throne, and killed all his brethren. Fourteen men of this race were Sulṭāns. Sulṭān 'Uṣmān: he began to reign 689 A.H. and he died 727 A.H.; the lands that he conquered were Qarā Ḥiṣār,

Adrank (Edrenos?), the city of Brūsa. Ūrkhān: he reigned from 727 A.H., and he died 759 A.H.; the lands which he conquered were Bāzibolī(?), Modreni, Tūrkarba(?), Koinik(?), Mady(?), Tarāqlī, Ūlūbād, Bālīkesrī, Gallipoli. Sultān Murād: he began to reign 759 A.H., and he died 791 A.H.; and he conquered the city of Angora, Sultān Kuyi, Demitoka, Ipsala, the city of Adrianople, the land of Kāshān, Kumūljina, Bigha, the land of Ḥamīd, Kar-miyān, Serres, Qarāferia, the land of Salonica(?). Īldarim Bāyazīd: he began to reign 791 A.H., and he died 805 A.H.; he conquered Qarātowa, where are the mines of silver, Alāshahr, Sārū Khān Īlī, Aydīn Īlī, Nicopolis, Sali Sili (Silistria?), the city of Sīwās, the town of Malāṭiya, half of the land of Qarāmān, Tarāqlī Dara(?). Amīr Sulaymān: he began to reign 805 A.H., and he was slain in 812 A.H. Mūsā Chalabī: he reigned with Sultān Muḥammad for three years. Sultān Muḥammad: he reigned for thirteen years, and he died in 825 A.H. Sultān Murād: he began to reign in 825 A.H., and he died 855 A.H.; the lands which he took were Mantashā Īlī, Sārū Khān Īlī, Ḥamīd Īlī, Aydīn Īlī, Siliwri(?), the fort of Brūj(?), Szegedīn(?), Novaberda(?), Qūch Ḥiṣār. Sultān Muḥammad: he began to reign 855 A.H., and he died 886 A.H.; the lands which he conquered were the city of Istambūl, the country of Sanna(?), Albania, the province of Qarāmān, being seven cities, the country of Isfandiyār, Kastamūnī, Sīnope, the Island of Ashāq(?), the country of Herzgovina, the town of Kaffa, Morea, Nēgrepont, the Isle of Mitylene, Qarā Ḥiṣar, Upper Chānak, Lower Chānak, the town of Alāniya, the tract of Tyrol(?), Quyūnlū Fort, the country of Aīnos, the country of Zwornik, the country of Anajira(?), of Upper Ghaznaw(?), Mankūb—all the countries are written in full in former volumes. Sultān Bāyazīd: he began to reign 886 A.H., and he died in 918 A.H.; he conquered Akkerman, the Isle of Lepanto, Korone and Methone, the stronghold of Kilia. Sultān Salīm: he began to reign 918 A.H., and he died 926 A.H.; the countries that he conquered were Upper and Lower Syria, being seventeen cities; Egypt, being twenty-seven cities; Diyārbakr, eight cities; Mar'ash, and some of Ādarbāyjān, as far as Akhlāt; and, in the Holy Places, the Khuṭba was read in his name. Sultān Sulaymān: he began to reign 926 A.H., and he died 974 A.H.; the countries that he conquered were Arabian 'Irāq, Baṣra, Shahrizūr,

Qaṭif, the country of Al Ḥaṣā, and some of Yaman; the country of Suākin; of Georgia, Dāwīlī; of Ādarbāyjān, the Forts of Wān, and Akhlāt, with their dependencies; of Kurdistān, Bitlis; of the country of the Franks, Belgrade, Rhodes, and Buda, which was the capital of the King of Hungary, the island of Chios; of the Western Land, the town of Tripoli, the town of Algiers(?); and some of the Arabian islands. Sultān Salīm: he began to reign 974 A.H., and he died 982 A.H., the countries that he conquered were the Island of Cyprus, and the fort of Āqilband(?). And it happened that both the Salims reigned eight years and the Murāds thirty, and all the Bāyazīds, including the third who never was Sultān, were taken prisoner.

This year, too, Lawand bin Karkīn,<sup>(3)</sup> Governor of Georgia, who had been long a heretic, died. Kaykhusraw bin Karkīn bin Lawand succeeded him, and Āl Iskandar fled to Qurq, which Kaykhusraw and his nobles attacked. Kaykhusraw was killed in the battle which ensued, and Āl Iskandar took his father's place, and sent envoys to the Shāh, who sent Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafawī<sup>(4)</sup> as Governor to Georgia.

Mirzā Qāsim Gūnābādī also died this year. He was a well-known man, who wrote (like Firdawsī) a complaint, because he received no reward for his 'Shāhnāma'.

#### A.H. 983.

In the beginning of the year 'Abdullāh Uzbek collected the armies of Balkh, Bukhārā, and Ḥiṣār Shādimān, and marched against Gharjistān and camped on the banks of the Kūhak river.<sup>(1)</sup> Bābā Sultān, son of Burāq Khān, with his brothers and a large company of Ilajīs advanced against him, and crossed the river by a bridge he built, whereupon 'Abdullāh fled and disappeared. But Bābā Sultān, because of the desertion of his brother Darwish Khān, returned to his own country, and seizing, with the approval of his Ministers, Darwish Khān, took possession of Tāshkand.

#### *Miscellaneous events.*

Hājim Khān, Governor of Khwārazm, a man of illustrious family, sent his son<sup>(2)</sup> Muḥammad Qulī Sultān to Court. He was met by the nobles, and brought before the Shāh, and honoured with gifts.

*A.H. 984. Death of the Shāh.*<sup>(1)</sup>

Now the Shāh fell sick, and, in spite of all that the physicians could do, his sickness increased day by day, and he died on the night of Tuesday, the fifteenth day of Šafar. And Abū Naṣr had been treacherous in his treatment; therefore he was put to death.

The Shāh's age was sixty-four years, one month, and twenty-five days, and he had reigned for fifty-three years, six months, and twenty-six days, and as deputy of Shāh Ismā'il in Khurāsān for eight years. The only Moslem King who had reigned so long was the Fātimid Muṣṭanṣir Billāh<sup>(2)</sup>; and in Persia, since Bahrām Gūr till the present year, 985 from the Flight, that is, for nearly twelve hundred years, no King had reigned so long.

Then sorrow and fear followed the Shāh's death. Shamkhāl Sulṭān Charkas and others came into the Square of the Stables, and the Chiefs and Ministers fortified their houses, till the dawn came. Then Sulṭān Ḥaydar,<sup>(3)</sup> with his mother's approval, claimed the throne, trusting in the Ustāj̄lūs and Georgians, and armed the qūrchīs who were on his side with arms from the arsenal. And he brought forward a false paper, which he had written, wherein it was said that the Shāh had made him his heir. And certain short-sighted persons followed him. But the Rūmlū, Afshār, Qājār, Bayāt, and Warsāq, qūrchīs, who were on guard, strengthened the Palace gates, and sent to the Chiefs and warned them of the quarrel. And in the meantime Ḥaydar Sulṭān Turkmān, Amīr Aṣlān Beg Afshār, Maḥmūd Beg Afshār, Sulaymān Beg, the son of Suhrāb Khalīfa Turkmān, Dalw Budāq Rūmlū, and Khān Walī Beg Bahārlū, came with a strong force and the other Chiefs to Khulafā. Then it was heard that the Ustāj̄lū Chiefs were minded to bring Ḥaydar Mīrzā out, and set him on the throne. So they sent messages to the followers of Ḥaydar Mīrzā and Ḥusayn, setting forth how the Lord God had favoured Ismā'il Mīrzā, and how great his victories had been, and how the Qizilbāsh soldiery would be like sheep without a shepherd if he were not made king, so that foes would get the occasion, for which they had yearned, to fall upon Īrān. But it was in vain; and the messengers returned. So forces were arrayed and marched with the Chiefs to the Square of the Stables, and towards the Palace. And the other side gathered its forces. Then certain foolish men, like Ḥamza Beg Ṭālish, 'Alī Khān Georgian, and Zāl went to that evil

man, and held consultation. Now the Ghāzīs kept Ḥaydar Mirzā in the Palace, and barred the way out for him. At this news Ḥusayn was disturbed, but he put on a brave face. They were minded to bring Sulṭān Ḥaydar Mirzā out by force, and set him on the throne. So Sulṭān Muṣṭafā Mirzā and Ḥusayn Beg opposed the qūrchīs, and made for the Palace. At this time Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mirzā came to Ḥusayn Beg, saying that he should cease from fighting, and live in his own house; for the fruit of enmity was repentance; he himself had nought to do with the succession. But in his heart he longed for the throne. And the others hearkened not to him, but they set out for the gate of Panja-i-'Alī, where the soldiers withstood them. In fear they turned towards the Darb-i-a'lā, but the guards of that gate joined the enemy and opened the gates. Then Ḥaydar's men set out for the gate, which is called Qarā Dāghiyān. And Ḥusayn Yūzbāshī ordered it to be broken. But the qūrchīs caught them with volleys. Then they broke about a span of the gate; and the qūrchīs supported it with large columns, and fired through the gap. In truth, the enemy fought bravely. Then Khulafā sent a body of Ṣufīs over the wall of the Square to the Ḥaram garden, to aid the qūrchīs, and drive back the enemy. And Zu'l-Qadar and other guards came to help. The enemy, in shame, hastened to another gate, which also was shut in their faces. Then they threw themselves into the court house, and seventeen of them, with desperate daring, got into the Ḥaram garden, and killed a Shāmlū qūrchī. Then Khulafā, Shamkhāl Sulṭān, and the Ghāzīs and Chiefs in the Square of the Stables, threw themselves into the Ḥaram garden, and Sulṭān Ḥaydar took refuge among the women, where he was caught by the Ghāzīs, and his head was cut off, and shown to the enemy.

When the sun set Ḥusayn Beg Yūzbāshī took Sulṭān Muṣṭafā and fled with him to Luristān; but after this he left him and his supporters, and fled alone in a beggar's cloak till he fell into the hands of Khwāja Farrukh in the way.

Now after the death of Sulṭān Ḥaydar, Khulafā and the Ghāzīs were afraid, and they left the Ḥaram garden with their retainers. And Khulafā's plan was to go to the Mill Stones,<sup>(4)</sup> but the qūrchīs said they should wait, and see how it was with the Ustājīlūs. And a horseman came, and reported that there were none in the land. So Khulafā and Sulṭān Maḥmūd went to their own houses. In the

morning Ḥamza Beg Tālīsh and Zāl and his brother Farrukh were caught and killed. 'Alī Khān the Georgian and some other unfortunates confessed their faults, and the remnant were taken, or killed, or fled to the desert: and their goods were confiscated.

Then Ḥaydar Sulṭān Turkmān and the Ghāzīs and officers set out for the castle of Qahqaha.<sup>(5)</sup> Never hath a stranger thing been heard; for Ismā'il was imprisoned in the castle with but few men, and the whole army was for Ḥaydar, who also had the treasury and the arsenal.

Now when the news of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's death reached Pīrī Beg at Ray, he set out for Qazwīn. And in the way he was met by those who fled, who told him of Sulṭān Ḥaydar's death. And he went back, and threw himself with a strong force into Warāmīn, and barricaded it. Then Amīr Khān Turkmān and Ḥusayn Jān Beg Khunuslū arrived near Warāmīn, and sent men to Pīrī Beg, calling on him to yield. But he would not. They sent yet another messenger, bidding him deliver up the rebels, and himself submit. And he would not, but seized Muḥammad Beg Qūbīnchī Ūghalī, and handed him over. Then the Chiefs fell upon him, and slew about twenty of his men, and took others and sent them to Court. And Pīrī Beg struggled like a fish caught in a net, and slew two or three Ghāzīs.

And on the twenty-seventh day<sup>(6)</sup> of Ṣafar Sūlāq Ḥusayn 'Takalū put to death Allāh Qulī Beg Ustājīlū at Qazwīn.

#### *Accession of Ismā'il the Second.*

Now Ismā'il had been, for nigh twenty years, in the castle of Qahqaha, when Shāh Ṭahmāsp died and Afshār Āghā sent the news. And with him were not more than seven men, and there were twenty-five men of Qarāja Dāgh<sup>(7)</sup> in the castle. Ismā'il sent for each of them and seized them. And Muḥammad Beg Ūtak Ūghalī of the Rūmlū qūrchīs, whom Khulafā had sent the same night that he overthrew the Ustājīlūs, arrived; and after him Jalāl 'Alī Shāh Virdī Beg Qūrchī Chapanī. And Ismā'il rejoiced because of Khulafā and the Chiefs. And he got certain of his friends into the fort. But Khalīfa-i-Anṣār, with a strong force, was near the castle; and he was an enemy, and sent men by twos into the castle, being minded to attack. But Ismā'il, being informed of this treacherous thing, seized and imprisoned them. And Khalīfa-i-Anṣār, seeing that his



men did not return, sent no more. Then the Chiefs came, such as Salmān Khalifa Shāmlū, Farrukhzād Beg Kungurlū, Aḥmad Beg Īshīk Āghāsī, and others. And Khalifa-i-Anṣār was sore afraid, and sent to ask for pardon. And receiving a kind answer, he hastened to the Court with a sword and a shroud; and he was forgiven and was given a dress of honour. Then on Tuesday, the twenty-second day of Ṣafar, Ismā'il left the castle with his army. And Ḥaydar Sulṭān Turkmān and qūrchī archers joined the Royal camp; and troops were added daily. In two days the army numbered thirty thousand men. Then Shāh Ismā'il left for Qazwīn. On Thursday he camped at the village of Yāfat; on Friday at Urshaq; on Wednesday after that he reached Ardabīl. And there he made pilgrimage to the tomb of Shekh Ṣafiyyu'd-dīn, and bestowed alms and gifts. On Friday, the thirtieth day, he left Ardabīl, and camped at the village of Khāna-i-shīr, where Amīr Siyāwūsh, son of Amīra Sāsān, Governor of Kaskar, joined him. And news of the capture of Sulṭān Muṣṭafā Mirzā and the brothers of Ḥusayn the traitor came from the officers of Ḥājī Uways Beg Bayāt, who was made an Amīr for this signal service. Then Chaman-i-Sārū Qumish was reached, where the Governor of Hamadān, Fūlād Khalifa Shāmlū, joined them, and was made an Amīr. The King stayed there for one day, and commanded that Murād Khān, grandson of Mantashā Sulṭān Ustājilū, should be blinded. So Pīr Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū, his friend, blinded him, and sent him to Ardabīl. On the seventh day the King marched; and in the way was joined by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mirzā. On Tuesday the King camped at Chaman-i-miyāna-i-qubba; on Thursday at Parjam; after traversing mountains and plains they reached Nik Pey; and on Saturday the river Zinjāna. On the road Sūlāq Ḥusayn Takalū, Pīr Muḥammad Ustājilū, and the Ṭālīsh Chiefs, with Imām Qulī Muḥammad, joined the Royal army. Next day they reached Sulṭāniyya; then the neighbourhood of Ṣāyīn castle; then the summer resort of Chakī Chakī. And the chief men of Qazwīn joined the camp. On the morning of Wednesday they marched, and at noon reached Āq Sāq Arzan; and on Thursday the outskirts of Qazwīn. Then the Shāh put forth his hand to promote religious observances and precepts, and to prevent wanton pastimes; and to honour learned and pious leaders. He favoured the army; and paid the qūrchīs, whom the dead Shāh had not paid for fourteen years;

so that a common man got a hundred tūmāns, or, it may be two hundred.

Then Ḥusayn the bad<sup>(8)</sup> was brought to the Court. Bearing in mind his wounds the Shāh handed him over to his servants. And certain evil men killed him, without the command of His Majesty. Therefore it was forbidden that any should touch the followers of Sulṭān Ḥaydar Mīrzā, or their families and goods. So these persons came from their hiding places. And Chiefs and courtiers, Qūch Khalifa, Keeper of the Seal, Qulī Beg Afshār, Shamkhāl Beg Charkas, and 'Alī Beg Qājār, joined the camp with many men. Then the King took up his residence in the house of Khulafā; and, later, he set out for the city, and camped in the Sa'adatābād garden. At this time Ḥājī Uways Beg Bayāt caught Sulṭān Muẓaffar, and brought him to the Court; and he was pardoned, and treated as the other Princes. Then, too, Murtazā Qulī Sulṭān Purnāk, and Walī Sulṭān, Governor of Shirāz, came to Qazwīn, and were received; also Chiefs and nobles, Governors, Dāroghas, Sayyids, Qāzīs, Shekhs, Qalantars, Heads of tribes, Commandants of forts, and all sorts of men. And the Khilāfat of Ḥusayn Qulī Khulafā was bestowed upon Bulghār Khalifa. On Wednesday, the twenty-seventh day of the first Jumādā, the King came to the palace. Ambassadors from the king of the Franks, and Sebastian of Portugal, and the Rulers of Georgia, Īsā Khān son of Lawand and Simon Beg son of Lawāsān, and the Governor of Kurdistān, Shāh Rustam, were brought to the Court, and were received honourably and suffered to depart. On Saturday Tukhmāq Sulṭān, son of Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Ustājilū, who had been sent by Shāh Ṭahmāsp as an envoy to Turkey, and had been given by Sulṭān Murād gifts without number, fairy-faced slaves, and tents, and horses of Arabia and Syria and Hejāz, and boxes of gold and silver, and rare books, and wondrous stuffs, came to the Court with Sulṭān Murād's Chāūsh, and presented a letter of friendship.

And at this time Parkar Beg Qājār, who was mad enough, fell upon Yūsuf Khalifa Ziyād Ūghalī, Governor of Ganja, in the baths, and slew him. And not content therewith, he slew his mother also. Therefore the Shāh was angered, and ordered him to be seized and cast into prison.

On Tuesday, the seventh day of Sha'bān Sulṭān Sulaymān Mīrzā and Sulṭān Muẓaffar Mīrzā departed this life. And a messen-

ger came from Qandahār reporting the death of Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā, son of Bahrām Mirzā. And the Shāh went to the house of his son to ask thereof, and bestowed the governorship of Qandahār on Fūlād Khalifa Shāmlū. At this time, also, Qūch Khalifa, Keeper of the Seal, was dismissed from his office, and the Seal was given to Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, son of Bahrām Mirzā.

And envoys from Ibrāhīm Khān, Governor of Lār, came by sea, and presented tribute, money and jewels and horses; also the envoy of Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Māzandarān, brought tribute. And the messengers of Jamshīd Khān, Governor of Resht, and of Sayyid-Sajjād, Governor of Ḥuwayza, came to Qazwīn, and were received, together with the envoy of Lār, in the Hall of Forty Columns. And they professed the loyalty of their masters.

On Wednesday, the twenty-seventh day of Sha'bān, the body of the dead Shāh, which had been buried for a time in the Ḥaram Garden, was taken out to be buried beside the Imām 'Alī Rizā. The Shāh mourned, and placed his father's body at Shāhzāda Ḥusayn's, and ordered a great dinner to be prepared, and himself attended the Court which had been prepared outside the city, and served on foot from morn to eve.

Then a dispute arose between Sulāq Ḥusayn Takalū and Murtazā Qulī Sultān Turkmān. Therefore the Shāh's anger was kindled, and he mounted his horse, and shot three of the officers, and brought this mischief to an end. And at the end of Ramaẓān news was brought from Khurāsān that Shāh Qulī Sultān Ustājlu, Amīru'l-Umarā of Khurāsān, had been killed. For he had thought to rebel and do evil; and Ḥusayn Sultān Afshār, Khusraw Sultān Kūr Ūghalī, Amīr Ḥasan Khaṭīb, and the other Ghāzis of Herāt, took counsel together, and armed themselves, and went to his house, and killed him, all his servants having fled. And they sent a messenger to bear the news to Qazwīn. And the Shāh appointed Urus Sultān, Governor of Shīrwān, to Herāt. At this time Ḥusayn Qulī Khulafā, who had oft-times been rebellious, was blinded. Also Sayyid Beg Kamūna, who had been a follower of Sultān Ḥaydar Mirzā, was put in prison. On Sunday, the sixth day of Zi'l-hijja, Nūr 'Alī Khalifa, son of Bulghār Khalifa, was arrested. The Shāh had raised him from being a mounted orderly of low position to be an Amīr. And in his folly he thought that the heavens could not revolve, nor the wind

blow, without his leave. And he did as was not pleasing to the King. That day Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mirzā, Sulṭān Aḥmad Mirzā, and Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā bin Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā bin Bahrām Mirzā, were also killed. And at the same time Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, son of Bahrām Mirzā, who had received marks of favour but oft-times had shown treachery, received his punishment, and was put to death. Orders were passed that day, too, for the death of certain Ṣūfis.

Now a number of Kurds of Diyārbakr had come to Qazwīn, and, trusting in their numbers, in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's time smote every man with whom they had a contention. And the Shāh had not interfered. And this day they killed the bāzār Dārogha, and it had been represented to Shāh Ismā'il how they did. So therefore he commanded Musib Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Takalū, and Murtaẓā Quli Sulṭān Purnāk, to go against them with men. And they killed nearly five hundred of them, and sent the rest to the Court; and the Shāh then pardoned them.

Then the place of the Great Seal was given to Shamkhāl Sulṭān. On Tuesday, the fifteenth day of Zi'l-ḥijja, Shāh 'Alī Khalīfa Zu'l-Qadar, Governor of Shabānkāra,<sup>(9)</sup> came to Qazwīn; and the next day Khalīl Khān Afshār, Governor of Kūh-i-Gilūya. And they were received in the Hall of Forty Columns. About two thousand tūmāns in money and goods were presented to the Shah. And, daily, bodies of men arrived.

### *Deaths.*

Shāh Ṭahmāsp<sup>(10)</sup> bin Shāh Ismā'il. In his youth his heart inclined to writing and drawing. And later he would ride Egyptian asses, on which he put golden saddles, and coats of gold embroidery, so that 'Būqu'l-'ishq' wrote that writers and painters, and Qazwīnis, and asses, flourished without trouble. In middle age he would work in his office from morn till eve, and all work he did himself. Without his orders his officers could not pay a farthing to any man. And he would pare his nails one day, and spend the whole of another day in the baths. He thought all things unclean, and often he would spit out what he was eating. And at banquets he would eat nothing. When he drank, he drank to excess. He would dissolve nearly five hundred tūmāns' worth of opium<sup>(11)</sup> in water. Later he abandoned all luxuries; and, for twenty years, he did not ride. He left behind

him the Tehrān battlements, and the Mashhad battlements; the palace at Qazwīn, and fine baths there; a mosque at Tabrīz; an inn between Zinjān and Sulṭāniyya; and other buildings. In his person he was tall, with a long face, long arms, sallow complexion, and a white beard. In his time the folk had great peace. He would not send a Dārogha; so in Ādarbāyjān there were ever disputes. And the army was so loyal to him that none complained, though they were not paid for fourteen years.

His sons were :—

- (1) Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda—afterwards Shāh.
- (2) Ismā'il Mīrzā.
- (3) Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā—sent with Humāyūn to Qandahār, where he died.
- (4) Sulaymān Mīrzā—made by Ṭahmāsp chief officer at Mashhad; killed this year at Qazwīn by Ismā'il's command.
- (5) Sulṭān Ḥaydar Mīrzā—Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafawī was made his guardian; he was killed, as is written above.
- (6) Sulṭān Muṣṭafā Mīrzā—killed this year by Ismā'il's command.
- (7) Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā—appointed Governor of Shīrwān; killed this year by Ismā'il's command.
- (8) Sulṭān 'Alī Mīrzā—made governor of Ganja; killed this year by Ismā'il's command.
- (9) Imām Qulī Mīrzā—made Governor of Lāhijān; killed also this year by Ismā'il's command.
- (10) Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā—also killed this year by Ismā'il's command.
- (11) Zaynu'l-'ābidīn Mīrzā—died in childhood at Qazwīn.
- (12) Mūsā Mīrzā—also died, when young, at Qazwīn.

On the night of Monday, the ninth day of Zi'l-qa'da Mawlānā Amīr Fakhru'd-dīn Simākī died. He was a pupil of Amīr Ghiyāṣ-u'd-dīn Manṣūr of Shirāz. He wrote notes on theological subjects, and a commentary on the 'Tajrīd'.

A.H. 985.

Now the men of Shirwān rebelled, and put Burhān's sister's son, Kāūs Mīrzā, over themselves. And he set out for Shābirān. Urus

Sultān Rūmlū, Governor of that place, appointed six hundred men against those foolish ones. They reached the enemy two leagues from Shābirān. Then Mīrzā Kāūs and his men fell upon them. But the Ghāzīs threw themselves against their centre, and overthrew it. And Mīrzā Kāūs fled, but he and four hundred men were slain, and their heads were sent to the Court. On Wednesday, the twenty-sixth day of the first month of Rabī', Mīrzā Shukrullāh resigned his ministership, and the ministry was conferred on Mīrzā Salmān. On that Wednesday, too, the office of Ṣadr was given to Shāh Ināyat-ullāh, a Sayyid of Iṣfahān.

*The taking of Pilangān castle.*<sup>(1)</sup>

Now the Shāh heard that Iskandar, Governor of the castle of Pilangān, had rebelled, and had oft-times fought with the Governor of Kurdistān, and was again minded to fight. Therefore Sūlāq Ḥusayn Takalū was sent with a large and well-equipped army. And Iskandar, in fear, acted warily, and betook himself to the hills. And, when the Qizilbāshes arrived near the castle, Iskandar joined battle; but, after a bloody fight, he fled towards \*Qara which is hard by the castle. And the remnants of his men were cut to pieces. But Iskandar escaped with two or three unfortunates. Sūlāq Ḥusayn sent the news to the Court. The messengers went from Pilangān to Qazwīn in three days. Then Sūlāq was made Governor of that province, and peace was restored.

At this time Ḥusām Beg, son of Bahram Beg Qarāmānī, of his folly, killed a poor man; then he hid in the city. But he was caught, and impaled. And Urdūghdī Khalīfa Takalū, Governor of Ray, was imprisoned. And the Shāh sent forty-four horsemen with all speed to Tehrān to slay Sultān Ḥasan Mīrzā. So these qurchīs went, half on one side and half on the other, and put a rope round the Prince's neck, and slew him. And the Shāh appointed 'Alī Qulī Khān Shāmlū to Herāt; and he was the grandson of Dürmish Khān. And he set out with a strong company. Further it was heard at Court that Abū'l-Khān and his brethren had raided as far as Nayshāpūr. Therefore Ḥusayn Beg, son of Sünduk Beg Afshār, was sent with speed after them; and he attacked, and killed, or wounded, about a hundred, and sent their heads to the Court.

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\* Or, 'a village' (?).

On Tuesday, the fifth day of Rajab, envoys came to Qazwīn from Nizāmu'l-mulk,<sup>(2)</sup> King of the Deccan, with gifts. On Tuesday, the third day of Sha'bān, the Shāh sent his son, Shujā'ud-dīn Muḥammad, to Walī Sulṭān, Governor of Shīrāz, who made ready a great feast. On the night before Friday,<sup>(3)</sup> the twenty-fourth day of Sha'bān, a dreadful comet, stretching across half the heavens appeared in Sagittarius. On the night before Sunday, the thirteenth day of Ramaẓān, the Shāh mounted his horse, and fared forth with Ḥasan Beg, a confectioner, and some of his courtiers into the streets and bāzārs. Near morning, he alighted at Ḥasan Beg's house for rest. And there he died. Some say that Ḥasan conspired with his enemies, and gave him bhang,<sup>(4)</sup> and then strangled him. It is strange that Ismā'il bin Ḥafīẓ-liḍīni'llāh<sup>(5)</sup> of Egypt also was killed in this same fashion by a youth, whose name was Naṣr. But it is more likely that the Shāh was not killed, for he used to eat opium to excess, because of a severe colic, which came every few days. After his death the nobles and Ministers gathered in the palace, and agreed to make Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda<sup>(6)</sup> king. So many of them set out for Shīrāz.

*The history of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda's life.*

He was born in the year 938 A.H. Shāh Ṭahmāsp made the Amīru'l-umarā, Ḥusayn Khān Shāmlū, his guardian, and then Mantashā Sulṭān Ustājīlū. At the end of the year 942 A.H., he was appointed to Khurāsān. Muḥammad Khān Sharafu'd-dīn Ūghali 'Takalū was placed over Herāt, and to supervise the Prince's army till he grew up. He pacified Khurāsān; and, since 'Ubayd Khān also died, there was peace. In the year 963 the Shāh called him, and he left Herāt on Friday, the fourth day of Sha'bān, and reached the Court the end of Shawwāl. In the year 964 he was again appointed to Herāt, and on Saturday, the ninth of Ṣafar, he set out. When he approached Mashhad he was minded to make pilgrimage to the shrines. So he entered the Holy sepulchre, and bestowed grants and alms, and he reached Herāt again on Tuesday, the ninth of the second Rabī'. After the death of Qazāq he set out for Qazwīn by the Shāh's order. And it became manifest that Amīr Ghayb Beg Ustājīlū could not manage Herāt; so the Prince was again appointed, and set out; Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Yakān was with him. At this time

'Abdullāh Khān bin Iskandar bin Jānī Beg Sultān, and Khusraw Sultān, with thirty thousand horse, came to Khurāsān. The Prince, never fearing them, set out to meet that great host with three thousand horse, notwithstanding counsel that he should wait till the Khurāsān Chiefs joined him. He entered the castle of Turbat, and 'Abdullāh and Khusraw camped hard by. And daily there were combats, till the Uzbeks despaired of success, and retreated towards Bukhārā. Then the Prince returned to his capital. And, some years after, the Prince was transferred to Shīrāz, leaving his son 'Abbās at Herāt. When news of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's death came, he thought to claim the throne. But Walī Sultān, Governor of the country, forsook him, and set out for Qazwīn. And the army also was faithless. So the Prince gave up his claim, though he was the rightful claimant, both by law and by religion; and, refraining from shedding blood, remained at Shīrāz till Ismā'il's death, when all the chief men came to him.

First, Iskandar Beg Shāmlū came, in six days, from Qazwīn to Shīrāz, and gave him the good news. And at first he did not believe it, but deemed it Ismā'il Mīrzā's deceit. But, when he was assured of its truth, he made Iskandar a Khān and called him 'Good news Khān'. The next day 'Alī Beg, son of Muḥammad Khān Sultān Zu'l-Qadar, confirmed the news, and the Prince collected and armed his men, and set out for Qazwīn, conferring the governorship of Shīrāz and its dependencies on 'Alī Beg, and sending men to capture Walī Sultān and Shāh Qulī Sultān, son of Tabit Āghā.

And when the news of the Prince's coming reached Iṣfahān, Ḥusayn Qulī Sultān Shāmlū came to him and brought tents and Court appurtenances, and established the Royal Court. And the writer of this chronicle met the Prince at Qum, and was received among his courtiers. When the Prince camped at Ribāt-i-dāng<sup>(7)</sup> Amīr Khān Turkman, Khalīl Khān Afshār, Qulī Beg Qūrchībāshī, and other high nobles, arrived. Then, when he passed Ribāt-i-Sayhab, Pīra Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū, Khalīfa-i-Anṣār, and other great Chiefs joined him.

And when they reached Qazwīn, Sulaymān Pādshāh<sup>(8)</sup> bin Sultān Uways bin Sultān Maḥmūd bin Sultān Abū Sa'id bin Mīrzā Sultān Shāh Muḥammad bin Mīrzā Mīrānshāh bin Amīr Tīmūr, came to his Court, and was received, and then returned. And at that time



news came of the rebellion of Parī Khān Khānam<sup>(9)</sup> and Shamkhāl Sultān.

Now Parī Khān Khānam's house was fortified, and a rabble was gathered together. And thus Shamkhāl Sultān was made overbold. Of his kindness the Prince sent messengers to them, calling on them to yield. Then he marched on Qazwīn, and, when he came near, Shamkhāl fled to the village of Sabzikār, and appealed to Amīr Aṣlān Beg Afshār. But he cut off his head, and brought it to the Court. Then Parī Khān Khānam took refuge in the women's quarters. But His Majesty handed her over to Khalīl Khān Afshār, who put her to death.

On Thursday, the fifth day of Zi'l-hijja, His Majesty came to the palace, and was attended by companies of Chiefs, courtiers, Sayyids, and others, who were suitably received. And Mirzā Salmān was made Wazīr. Then the Prince distributed the treasures of Shāh Ṭahmāsp at Qazwīn among the Chiefs and Sayyids, and the poor, and soldiers, and all manner of men; and paid,<sup>(10)</sup> the troops, whom Ṭahmāsp had not paid for fourteen years, and Ismā'il Mirzā but a hundredth part with a hundred evils; so that men forgot the generosity of Ūgūtāy Qā'an.<sup>(11)</sup> And from the time of Adam till now, being the year 985 A.H., no king had paid his soldiers like this. And, when it was rumoured abroad, Islamic rulers sent envoys to the Court. At this time, too, the Prince gave the governorship of Tabriz to Amīr Khān Turkmān; of Ardabīl and its dependencies to Pīra Muḥammad Khān Ustājlu; and of Khūy to 'Alī Qulī Sultān Turkmān.

At that time news came from Ādarbāyjan that the Kurds had attacked Khūy. For when Ismā'il became Shāh, Qāzī Beg, son of Shāh Qulī Balilān Kurd, sent envoys to Qazwīn to congratulate him, and he was given a writ for the governorship of Salmās and Tasūj.<sup>(12)</sup> But, when he heard of Ismā'il's death, he repented of what he had done, and he fell upon Khūy, where Maḥmūd Beg Rūmlū was Governor. And Maḥmūd was against him with two hundred horse. And they met near the village of Wuldiyān; and Maḥmūd fled without fighting. Then the Kurds attacked Ḥusayn Jān Sultān Khunuslū, who was besieged in a village with about twelve hundred horse. For about a month they fought; and the army of Wān and Wustān, and Qāzī Beg, son of Shāh Qulī Balilān, came to the help of the Kurds.

Thus they fought all day, and many were killed. Then, as they failed in the attack, the Kurds essayed treachery against Ḥusayn Jān. And the Khunuslū men after taking oaths from the Kurds, went to them. But most of them were killed.

At this time, too, the Erzerūm<sup>(13)</sup> Pāshā brought a large force, thinking to come to Shūra Gil. But Mīrzā 'Alī Beg, son of Ghulām 'Alī, who was one of his most important Chiefs, represented that he need not go himself, saying that he, Mīrzā 'Alī Beg, would capture the Governor of Shūra Gil and bring him. So the Pāshā sent 'Alī with seven thousand horse to attack Shūra Gil. They marched by an unknown way against Qarā Khān Beg of Bāyburt and, when they arrived unexpectedly, Qarā Khān Beg met them, and killed fifty of them. Howbeit, many Ghāzīs, who had dismounted, were killed, and they were pursued to the village, and Qarā Khān Beg's tent was burnt. But Qarā Khān Beg heartened his men, and they attacked again; and the Turks fled, and were pursued, and three hundred were killed, and the rest were scattered; and four hundred more perished in the deep snow. And Mīrzā 'Alī Beg, thus routed and ruined, threw himself into Erzerūm.

## NOTES.—HISTORICAL AND GENERAL.

### 900 A.H.

(1) The *Princes*, i.e. 'Alī, Ibrāhīm, and Ismā'īl.—There are other brothers—not of the same mother—mentioned later. It appears that Ibrāhīm was older than Ismā'īl, according, at least, to the Ḥabību's-siyar. (برادر کلاتر خود سید ابراهیم را همراہ گردانیده). What happened to him is not clear; Browne says he returned from Gilān; Malcolm says he died in Gilān. Hammer-Purgstall states that he was captured by Prince Salīm bin Bāyazīd of Turkey in Asia Minor.

(2) *Ayba Sultān*.—This important Chief is stated by the Sharafnāma to have been the son of Dānā Khalīl Qājār, and the Jahān Ārā agrees (ابراهیم بیگ بن دانا خلیل که بابیه سلطان اشتہار دارد). Hammer-Purgstall says he was the son of Khalīl bin Uzūn Ḥasan. The Ta'rikh-i-Qipchāqkhānī (a late history finished in 1137 A.H.) makes him brother of Rustam Beg. But even this history recognizes his connection with the Qājār tribe—و درین اثنا ایبہ سلطان بایندری بنابر مشورت قوم قاجارہ رستم بیگ از— and again where it says that Rustam Beg sent Ayba Sultān with the Qājār army against Kār Kiyā Mirzā 'Alī of Gilān. We may, I think, assume that the Jahān Ārā and Sharafnāma are right. Ayba Sultān Qājār (whose name was Ibrāhīm) had a number of brothers; Nūr 'Alī Beg, Guzil Aḥmad, Ashraf Beg, and Ya'qūb Jān are mentioned. When Shāh Ismā'īl's father, Ḥaydar, fought with Farrukh Yasār of Shīrwān Ya'qūb bin Uzūn Ḥasan sent Ayba and Sulaymān Beg Bīzhan to assist the Shīrwān King, and they defeated and killed Ḥaydar at Tabarsarān. The name Ayba is believed to be Turkish Aybak, 'Moon Lord'.

(3) *The Ṣūfī Cap*.—The text has تاج از سر خود برداشته. The Jahān Ārā and Ḥabību's-siyar have much the same. Later, Shāh Ismā'īl, when entering battle against Shaybak Khān, turned back his turban from his 'Taj', and there too, 'Tāj' means the Ṣūfī Cap. See notes on the text.

(4) The Aḥsan does not give the name of the place at which the skirmish occurred. The Jahān Ārā (Nusakh-i-Jahān-Ārā) of Qāzī Aḥmadu'l-Ghaffārī (b. 919 A.H. at Tehrān, d. 975 A.H. after a pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz) calls the village Bāruq (Māruq?), a league from Ardabil. The unknown author whose work has been dealt with by Ross (J.R.A.S., 1896, p. 249) says the place was Shamāsī. This was a village just south of Ardabil—where the fugitive Emperor Humāyūn was met when he went to visit Ardabil.

(5) *'Alamshāh Begam*.—Marta, Halīma, Bakī Āqā, or *'Alamshāh Begam*, daughter of Uzūn Ḥasan and Despina Khātūn, who was daughter of Kalo Joannes, the last Christian Emperor of Trebizond (Browne, Literary History, Vol. IV, p. 47). She was the sister of Sulṭān Ya'qūb.

(6) *Qūrḡ Sīdī 'Alī*.—I find this man mentioned in the Sharafnāma as Governor of Fort Alanchiq, where Rustam Beg was confirmed. By agreement with him Ayba Sulṭān got Rustam released, and they marched off against Sulaymān Beg Bīzhan, who, deserted by his Chiefs, fled to Diyārbakr, where Ayba's brother, Nūr 'Alī, put him to death.

(7) *Amīra Ishāq*, the Ruler of Resht.—The Province of Gilān was divided into Biya Pas, with its capital of Resht, then under Amīra Ishāq bin Muḥammad, and Biya Pish (capital Lāhijān) under Kār Kiyā Mirzā 'Alī. Biya was the local name of the river Safīd Rūd, which divided these two districts. Amīra Dubbāj, whose history is given later, was grandson of Amīra Ishāq; Khān Aḥmad, who was deposed, and imprisoned at the end of Shāh Tahmāsp's reign, was of Mirza 'Alī's family. For a detailed history of the two districts see Rabino's article in J.R.A.S., 1918, p. 85.

(8) *Mīr Najm* was subsequently advanced by Ismā'il to high degree. His name, as given in the Ḥabību's-siyar, was Amīr Najmu'd-dīn Mas'ūd Gilānī, and he :—

در اوایل حال در سلک اشراف و اعیان ولایت رشت ..... منتظم بود

(9) *Tangas*.—The tanga, or tanka, was a small coin—200 equalling one tūmān. Brosset makes it equal to the more modern Georgian 'Chaour', and one-fifth of a franc or, say, two pence. Thirty thousand tangas would thus be about £250, but worth, of course, a great deal more than our modern money. The dictionaries give both tanga and tanka; the Ghiyāsu'l-lughāt tanka only. The tanga is in general use in Bukhāra; it is frequently mentioned in the Russian Reports on Bukhārā and its conquest by Russia. 400 tangas are quoted as worth about £12. (Capt. Kostenko's Report, translated by Michell, p. 50.) The tanga is also in use in Khīva, where it was worth 5·375 pence. (Muraviev's Journey to Khīva, p. 137—1819-20 A.D.) See also Schuyler's Turkistan, Vol. I, p. 203; the tanga was worth 5½d.

(10) *Manṣūr Beg Purnāk*, became Governor of Fārs in 882 A.H. according to Mīrzā Furṣat's Āṣār-i-'Ajam (p. 582), or 883 A.H. according to others (vide an article in the Irānshahr, Vol. III, No. 7, p. 410). It was Manṣūr who confined Ismā'il and his brothers in the fort of Istakhr. The date of Manṣūr's death is given below as 903 A.H. The Purnāks were a Turkman tribe.

(11) *Nūr 'Alī Beg*—brother of Ayba Sulṭān (Jahān Ārā).

(12) *Sulṭān Maḥmūd* was the third son of Sulṭān Abū Sa'id. Bābur has a full description of Maḥmūd (see Mrs. Beveridge's Bāburnāma, p. 45).

'He carried violence and vice to frantic excess, was a constant wine bibber, and kept many catamites.'

## 901 A.H.

(1) *Sultān Ḥusayn's campaign against Hiṣār and Qunduz*.—This is described in full in the Bāburnāma. Maḥmūd's daughter was sent for Sultān's Ḥusayn's son Ḥaydar.

Hiṣār Shādmān and Qunduz are still well-known places. Qunduz is supposed to be کهن دز 'old fort'; it is said to have a very unhealthy climate; so much so that there is a proverb—مرگ مبخوامي قندز برو 'if you want to die go to Qunduz'.

(2) *Khusraw Shāh* was a Qipchāq Turk, who had been in the service of Sultān Maḥmūd, after whose death he became semi-independent. 'He blinded one of his benefactor's sons and murdered another,' says Bābur (Bāburnāma, p. 50; murder of Bāysunqur, p. 110; blinding of Mas'ūd, p. 95).

(3) *The tomb of Sa'dī*, is a well-known walled enclosure outside Shirāz, containing the grave of the poet Sa'dī (d. 691 or 692 A.H.); Curzon's Persia, Vol. II, p. 107, has an excellent illustration of it.

(4) *Şūfī Khalīl Mawṣilū*, was one of the Kurdish supporters of Ya'qūb bin Uzūn Ḥasan, and the lala, or guardian, of his son Bāysunqur. He played a considerable part in the confused fighting which followed Ya'qūb's death, and was eventually killed in battle with Sulaymān Beg Bizhan. Two persons mentioned in this history were his grandsons—Ibrāhīm Khān Mawṣilū and the 'Alī Beg who killed Zū'l-faḳār the Baghdād usurper.

## 902 A.H.

(1) *Aḥmad Pādshāh*. His father, Ughūrlū Muḥammad, fled to Turkey from his father Uzūn Ḥasan. There he was received by Sultān Muḥammad and given a daughter of that monarch (Sharafnāma). Their son was Aḥmad, who was nicknamed Kūda, or Kūdaja, by Sultān Bāyazīd. For Ughūrlū's end see Browne, Vol. III, p. 413. It must however be observed that the Sharafnāma states that Ughūrlū was killed fighting on the Turkish side against Uzūn Ḥasan near Bayburt in 879 A.H.

(2) *Sultāniyya*—founded by Arghūn and built by Uljāytū, who was buried here.

(3) *Zīyāyī*, of Urdūbād (on the Aras river under Nakhchiwān), according to the Ātash Kada, migrated to Herāt, and was patronised by Amīr 'Alī Shīr, but after the ruin of the Timurides returned to Āzarbāyjān, and died at Tabriz 928 A.H. As to Rustam's death Khwāndamīr's Khulāṣatu'l-akhbār says that Rustam fled to Georgia, and later on fell into Aḥmad's hands, and was killed. The Jahān Ārā corroborates this,

saying that Rustam مقبوض شده, and the word قبض formed the chronogram for his death (902 A.H.).

(4) *Sultān Ḥusayn and Badī'u'z-zamān in 902 A.H.* When Badī'u'z-zamān was appointed to Balkh he had to leave Astarābād, where he had been till then. He resented this, and his resentment developed into rebellion. It was this that made his father advance against him. The feeble resistance of the son was overcome at the Pul-i-Chirāgh valley, near Balkh—it may be Bil-i-Chirāgh (bīl=pass). See Mrs. Beveridge's *Bāburnāma*, p. 69, note. The Ḥabību's-siyar has Bil-i-Chirāgh clearly.

(5) *Shāh Ḡharīb Mīrzā*, was a son of Khadija Āghā and full brother of Muẓaffar Ḥusayn. For his character see *Bāburnāma*, p. 161.

### 903 A.H.

(1) *The Tomb of Solomon's Mother*, i.e. Cyrus' tomb, on the road from Shirāz to Iṣfahān; see notes on the text.

(2) *Shīrwān*. Sultān Murād was the son of Ya'qūb and of the daughter of Farrukh Yasār; he was thus the grandson of the Shīrwān King. He was also first cousin of Shāh Ismā'il. Ismā'il was a close kinsman of the White Sheep Turkmān Chiefs. His mother was sister of Ya'qūb, and his grandmother (Khadija Khātūn) was the sister of Uzūn Ḥasan. Shāh Ismā'il's name for Murād was Nā Murād (failure), and he is constantly styled Nā Murād in the Ḥabību's-siyar.

(3) *Khwāja Ḥasan-i-Māzī*. Ross' historian says "at Ulang-i-Kaniz and Khwāja Ḥasan-i-Māzī". The Ḥabību's-siyar writes "at Kaniz Ulang-i-Iṣfahān". The battle was therefore near Iṣfahān. Ulang-i-Kaniz is stated by Houtum-Schindler (J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 114) to be a small plateau 60 miles from Iṣfahan on the Burujird road "now called Kaiz or Qaiz".

(4) *Ru'indiz*. As stated in the notes on the text the manuscripts read Rubandar. But the *Sharafnāma* and Qipchāq Khān gave Ru'indiz. Ru'indiz (brazen fort) was near Tabriz. Rīzā Qulī Khān in his *Farhang-i-Nāsirī* says that, according to the *Haft Iqlīm*, Ru'indiz was a strong fort three leagues from Marāgha, and adds that, to his knowledge, ruins of a fort exist in that locality with cuneiform inscriptions. See also Le Strange's *Nuzhatu'l-qulūb*, p. 84.

(5) *Ulang-i-Nishin*—near Herāt.

Bābur (*Bāburnāma*, p. 94) says that Sultān Ḥusayn led his army out for the purpose of putting down Zu'n-nūn Arghūn and his son Shāh Shujā', because they had become Badī'u'z-zamān's retainers, and had taken up a position hostile to himself. *Amīr Zu'n-nūn Arghūn* bin Ḥasan (entitled Baṣrī) was a Chaghatāy noble and an officer of Sultān Abū Sa'id, after whose death he went to Farah and Qandahār and contended successfully with the Nikūdārī and Hazāra tribesmen, and ruled as far south as Kech Makrān. His son, Amīr Shāh Shujā', after war with

Bābur, conquered Sind, and died about 928 A.H. Shāh Shujā's son Mirzā Shāh Ḥusayn Beg, who is mentioned later on in connection with Humāyūn, ruled over Tatta. and died 951 A.H. (Ta'rikh-i-Qipchāq-khānī). Zu'n-nūn is constantly spoken of in the Bāburnāma; his character is given on p. 274. 'Arghūn' means fair complexioned; for a discussion of the word see Elias and Ross Ta'rikh-i-Rashidī, p. 290, note.

Muḥammad Walī Beg, 'Umar Beg, and Bābā 'Alī, were Chieftains of Sultān Ḥusayn, and are all mentioned and discussed by Bābur in his account of Sultān Ḥusayn and his Court (p. 270 et seq. Bāburnāma). Bābā 'Alī was originally an officer of Mir 'Alī Shīr and was present with that minister when Yādgār-i-Muḥammad was killed in the Ravens' Garden at Herāt (Ḥabibu's-siyar). These Chiefs arrived from Astarābād, whither they had been sent against Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā, who had rebelled against his father, Sultān Ḥusayn.

(6) *Amīr Ṣadru'd-dīn Muḥammad*. There is a meagre notice of this philosopher, and his son (who is mentioned frequently in this history) in the Ātash Kada. Mirzā Furṣat (Āṣār-i-'Ajam, p. 83) says that Ṣadru'd-dīn was killed by Turkmān marauders, and is buried in the Maṣṣūriyya Madrasa at Shirāz.

## 904 A.H.

(1) *'Azīz Kandī*. The place appears to be some 35 miles E.S.E. of Sūj Bulāq.

(2) *Shūlistān*, a district of Fārs, N.W. of Shirāz, taking its name from the Shūl tribe who were expelled from Luristan by the Lurs in the twelfth century of the Christian era and are described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as 'a Persian desert tribe'. Vide Curzon's Persia, Vol. II, p. 318.

(3) *Halwa Chashma*. The battle is just mentioned by Bābur, but with no details. It is curious to note that Abū'l-Muḥsin—Sultān Ḥusayn's rebellious son—is the prince from whose name Ḥusayn al-Kāshifī derived the title of his Akhlāq-i-Muḥsinī, wherein he extols Abū'l-Muḥsin's dutiful conduct. This book was written in 900 A.H.; Abū'l-Muḥsin's conduct must have deteriorated very soon after this.

(4) *Abīward* and *Nisā* are usually mentioned together—towns some hundred miles north of Mashhad. Abīward was the birth-place of the poet Anwarī. A curious explanation of the name Nisā is quoted from Abū Sa'd by Barbier de Meynard. When the Mahomedans attacked this place all the men fled, leaving their women. Seeing no men the Muslims exclaimed "Ce sont des femmes (عَوَّلَاءُ نِسَا)....allons assiégier une autre ville".

*Bābā Khākī*—thirteen yīghāch (farsakhs, leagues) east of Herāt. (Bāburnāma, p. 326.)

(5) *Muḥammad Burandūq Barlās*—one of Sulṭān Ḥusayn's chief Amīrs. (See *Bāburnāma*, p. 270.)

(6) *Amīr Ḥusayn the Riddler*.—Mawlānā Mīr Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥusayn of Nayshāpūr. (*Bāburnāma*, p. 288.)

## 905 A.H.

(1) *Kār Ulang*. The exact locality is not known to me, but it must be close to Iṣfahān.

(2) *Qizil Uzūn*. This is the name of the river known to the ancients as Amardus : nearer its mouth it is the Safid Rūd, or Biya.

(3) *Arjuwān*, a village under Āstārā. The general direction of the march is clear, but the individual villages cannot be traced on modern maps. Ross' historian gives them as, Daylam, Tārum, Khalkhāl, Barandūq (Shām Qizil Uzūn), Nasāz, Kūyī, Hafzābād, Alāruk, Ardabīl, Mirmī.

(4) *And others say*. The wording in the text is almost exactly the same as in Ross' historian, clearly showing a connection between the two works.

(5) *Gūkcha Dengīz*, Lake Gokcha. *Mughānāt*, the country south of the Aras river near its mouth. *Ganja*, now Elisavetpol.

(6) *Bārānī*. The Jahān Ārā says:—که دعوی فرزند زادگی جهان شاه میبرد The Black sheep Turkmān Chiefs were also known by the name of Bārānī, as the White Sheep Chiefs were called Bāyandur (Jahān Ārā).

(7) *Chukhūr Sa'd*. This is the district of which Erivān is chief town. Brosset (*Histoire de la Géorgie*) says:—"Je crois que ce nom est la traduction du géorgien Phoso-sakhli, nom d'un petit district au N.O. du lac de Palacatzio ou de Tchildir. En effet Tchougour signifie 'fossé'."

(8) *Dū Qūzālām*. In A. and B. دو قوزا دلم; in J. دو قوزا لم. The Bodleian Jahān Ārā has قور الام. In the Bodleian Ḥabību's-siyar (Elliot, 148) we have موضع دو قوز الام, as the place where Qarāja Iliās Beg Ayghūd Ūghālī joined Ismā'īl.

(9) *Shūra Gil*. A town between Qārs and Pāsīn, in the neighbourhood of Qāqazmān (shown on modern maps as Kaghyshman, Kagizman, etc.).

(10) *Mantash*. This person is mentioned on the Ḥabību's-siyar and other histories, but without any explanation as to who he was. The Ḥabību's-siyar says his fort was near Shūra Gil.

(11) *Tarjān*, on the road from Erzerūm to Diyārbakr—the scene of Uzūn Ḥasan's defeat by the Turks.

(12) *Zamīn-i-Dāwar*. The district of Afghānistān to the west of Qandahār; the valley of the Helmund.

(13) *Awba*, a village near Herāt. (Vide note on p. 229 of *Mirzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī's Chahār Maqāla*—Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. XI).

(14) *Chichiktū*, mentioned in the *Haff Iqlīm* as being near Maymana. Stated by Mrs. Beveridge to have been on the Balkh-Herāt road.



(15) *Sayyid 'Abdullāh*. This may possibly be the man mentioned in the Bāburnāma (p. 266) as grandson of Bāyqara Mirzā.

(16) *Lak Khāna*. I do not find this place mentioned elsewhere ; clearly it is a locality near Herāt.

(17) *Pul-i-Mālān*, a bridge over the river Hirī, about 12 miles south of Herāt ; a place of resort for the Herātis ; where Humāyūn was met when he approached Herāt. The Ḥabību's-siyar says it was a bridge of twenty-six arches, made of brick and lime masonry, and believed to have been built by a certain widow woman. The bridge is now in ruins, but visitors to Herāt are still met at its site. (Yate's Khurasan and Sistan, p. 16.)

(18) *Kūkas*. The building of the Kūkas, and the description of the different ships, are taken, almost word for word, from the Hasht Bihišt, a Persian history of the first eight Turkish Sultāns, from Uṣmān 726 A.H. to Bāyazid 918 A.H., by Mawlānā Idris bin Ḥusāmū'd-dīn of Bitlīs, who died 926 A.H., the same year as Sultān Salīm. He was the author of the chronogram for the establishment of the Shī'a religion in Persia مذهب ناحق. It is said that Ismā'il asked Idris if he had made this chronogram, and Idris replied that he had, but it was Arabic and not Persian (" Our religion is true ")—an answer which so pleased Ismā'il that he invited Idris to enter his service. The honour was declined. But other authorities attribute the chronogram, and its explanation as being Arabic and not Persian, to the Muḥtāhid Shekh 'Alī 'Abdu'l-'Ālī.

(19) *Lepanto*. The Turkish name is *آينه بخني* or *آينه بخني* (Naupactus).

(20) *Isfarāin*. The old town of Isfarāin, west of Qūchān (Khabushān) now represented by ruins, is mentioned by Ibn Hawkal and in the Nuzhatu'l-qulūb. For a modern description of its neighbourhood and ruins, see Yate's Khurasan and Sistan, p. 378.

(21) *Amīr Badru'd-dīn*. He is not mentioned elsewhere in this history ; possibly he is the man mentioned on p. 278, Bāburnāma.

(22) *Zāwa*, a town (capital of a district of the same name east of Turshīz) mentioned in the Nuzhatu'l-qulūb as being fifteen leagues from Tūs (Tūs was fifteen miles N.N.W. of Mashhad). It was the birth-place of Quṭbu'd-dīn Ḥaydar, whose burial here gave it its present name of Turbat-i-Ḥaydarī.

(23) *Sultān Muḥammad*—i.e. Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā bin Bāysunqur bin Shāh Rukh.

(24) *Gohar Shād Begam Madrassa*—founded by Gohar Shād (widow of Shāh Rukh) who was put to death by Sultān Abū Sa'īd in 861 A.H.

## 906 A.H.

(1) *Ustāj'lū*. These eight Turkish tribes formed the armies of the so-called national Ṣafawī dynasty of Persia. The Shāmlūs and Rūmlūs are supposed to have been descendants of Syrian and Turkish

prisoners, taken by Tīmūr in his wars with the Turkish Sultān Bāyazīd (Vide Malcolm's History, Vol. I, p. 390, note). In the *Silsilatu'n-nasab* (Browne's edition of the text, pp. 47, 48) it is stated that Tīmūr, after his war with the Turks, passed through Ardabīl, and summoned Sultān Khwāja 'Alī, an ancestor of the Ṣafawī kings, and gave him a cup of poison. The poison was drunk, but it came out in sweat, and did no harm. Amazed at this Tīmūr gave Sultān Khwāja 'Alī all his Turkish prisoners. Sultān Khwāja 'Alī set them free, and gave them a place to live in; and they became known as the Rūmlū Ṣufīs. Herbert, who mentions this freeing of the prisoners, adds, "That act added infinitely to the Santo's credit". The Takalūs came from Taka (Tekke, the south-west corner of Asia Minor); the Warsāqs from the Warsāq district of Qaramānia. Hammer-Purgstall states that the Taurus N.W. of Selifke is still called Warsāqtāghī. The Zu'l-Qadar tribe's headquarters were Diyārbakr; Qājārs and Afshārs are scattered throughout Persia, and are still powerful tribes. Nādir Shāh was an Afshār, and the late royal family of Persia Qājārs. The Ustājilūs came from Asia Minor. The Jahān Ārā states that, when Ismā'il left Lāhijān, the Ustājilū tribesmen were persuaded to join him by Ḥamza Beg, and they sent their families (خانه کوچ) back to Rūm, while the young men went with Ismā'il.

(2) *Qurqura*, i.e. the Atābek of Samtzkhe (Georgia). Qurqura III, died this year (906 A.H.=1500 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son Kaykhusraw. The reason why an attack on the Georgians was suggested appears to be that Ismā'il's father Ḥaydar made several attacks on the Georgians—to enlarge his own power, and also as a sacred war upon infidels. To attack the Georgians he passed through Shīrwān, and it was this that brought him into collision with Farrukh Yasār of Shīrwān, and led to the battle in which he was killed.

(3) *Qüyūn Ulūmī*. This was the place where the river Kūr was generally crossed. The spelling varies in the manuscripts. The Bodleian Jahān Ārā reads قوين البومي and قوين الامي, and the Bodleian Sharafnāma قوين اولمی. Charmoy translates "morte de mouton".

(4) *Shakī*. Charmoy, referring to Mas'ūdī, states that this town was on the left bank of the Kūr. In the Ḥabību's-siyar I find شكي كه جانب شمال شيروان است. Don Juan of Persia (ed. Le Strange) says Shakī "stands on the confines of the province of Shirwan and Georgia." (p. 145.)

(5) *Kilīd-i-Gilān*, (the key of Gilān); exact locality not clear.

(6) *Qabalah*, mentioned in the Nuzhatu'l-qulūb as being near Darband. It is also mentioned in the Haft Iqlīm and Zafarnāma.

(7) *Biqrid* (بيقرد). The place is often mentioned in this and other histories, but its exact locality is not specified, nor am I sure if I have transliterated correctly. Charmoy (*Fastes de la Nation Kurde*—transla-

tion of the *Sharafnāma*) writes "Big'irde". Brosset writes Bigrit, and says the place is a citadel near Shamākhī.

(8) *Shahr-i-naw*. I adopt the reading of the Ḥabību's-siyar (see notes on text), which states that the place was on the sea-shore, i.e. the Caspian.

(9) *Mahmūdābād*. Mentioned in the *Nuzhatu'l-qulūb* as being on the Caspian, and having been built by Ghāzān Khān.

(10) *Khunuslū*. Khunus is a canton under Bitlis.

(11) *Qāzī Beg*, apparently the son of Farrukh Yasār mentioned on p. 24 as the originator of the Qāzī Beg coinage.

(12) *Gulistān*. About 30 miles S.E. of Ganja. In Hellert's map (French translation of Hammer-Purgstall's History) Gulistān is shown as a district between Qarā Bāgh and Shīrwān. Brosset writes "près de la Zeiva dans le Qara Bagh". In 1813 A.D. Russians and Persians met at Zeba near Gulistān, and the peace which followed was settled by the treaty of Gulistān.

(13) *Surkhāb*. This also is a Shīrwān fort the exact locality of which is not clear, but on the Gilān border.

(14) *Shaybak Khān attacked Samargand*. With this account may be compared Bābur's narrative (*Bāburnāma*, pp. 121-147). There are also short accounts in the *Jahān Ārā*, *Ta'rikh-i-Qipchāqkhānī* (by Qipchāq Khān 'urf Khwājam Qulī Beg Balkhī, written 1137 A.H. Bodleian MS. Ouseley, 185), *Ta'rikh-i-bad'ia* (by a great-grandson of Yār Muḥammad Khān of Astrakhān, Bodleian MS. Ouseley, 269), and other histories.

(15) *Muḥammad Bāqir Tarkhān*. The text usually writes Bāqir, though in one or two places it is Bāqī. Elsewhere I find Bāqī used, e.g. by the *Bāburnāma*, *Ta'rikh-i-Qipchāqkhānī*, by Vambéry and others, and I suppose we should read Bāqī. He was the son of 'Abdu'l-'Alī Tarkhān (see *Bāburnāma*, p. 40). For the title Tarkhān see notes on the text. See also Elias and Ross' *Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 55, note. "Tarkhān—a very ancient rank, or order of nobility, among the Mongols," Tarkhāns were given nine special prerogatives, e.g. they were exempted from all taxation: they could enter the palace without permission: booty taken in war or the chase was their own personal property. See Barthold's *Turkestan* (Gibb Mem. Series, New series, Vol. V), and the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I, p. 27. Mr. Beveridge suggested that Tarkhān might be the Etruscan Tarquin. (Vide J.R.A.S., 1917, p. 834 and subsequent correspondence.)

(16) *Shaybak set out for Bukhārā*. The history here is obscure. The *Ta'rikh-i-Qipchāqkhānī* says that Shaybak went to Bukhārā to raise troops. Meanwhile Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān left Dabūsī for Qarshī, and it would seem that, when Shaybak was on his way back to Samargand, the Tarkhān went to Bukhārā, where he received some encourage-

ment. This was why, on his return to Bukhārā, Shaybak had the town sacked. Bukhārā is the Sanskrit विहार—a Buddhist temple.

*Amīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.* This appears to be the author of the Shay-bānīnāma, which Vambéry has translated into German. (Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khwārazmī.) Vambéry thinks Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ was killed in battle about 912 A.H.

(17) *Khwāja Yahyā.* Khwāja Muḥammad Yahyā bin Naṣīru'd-dīn Ḥaẓrat Khwāja 'Ubaydu'llah Ahrār was the younger of the two sons of Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Ahrār, a well-known Naqshbandī saint—for some account of whom see Mr. H. Beveridge's article in J.R.A.S., 1916, p. 59; the saint died 896 A.H., and is buried at Samarqand; Shaybak Khān was a follower of his, and 'Ubayd Khān was named after him. After Khwāja Yahyā went to Shaybak Khān, he was told that he might go on a pilgrimage, and he set out, but was attacked by Uzbeks and killed. Whether the murder was done under Shaybak Khān's orders, or with his connivance, is not certain.

The Ta'rikh-i-badī'a definitely says that Khwāja Yahyā invited Bābur by a letter.

(18) *Kān-i-gīl*, a meadow "two miles east and a little north of the town" (Samarqand). See Bāburnāma, p. 81, and note. Timūr used to camp here, and in 799 A.H. he made a palace and garden at the edge of this meadow. (Zafarnāma, Vol. II, p. 6.) His last quiltāy was held here.

(19) *Khwāja Abū'l-Makārim.* Mrs. Beveridge says (Bāburnāma, p. 62, note), "He was not, it would seem, of the Ahrārī family. His own had provided Pontiffs (Shaikhu'l-islām) for Samarkand through 400 years."

(20) *So Bābur set out.* See the Bāburnāma, p. 124, etc. for Bābur's account of all these events in which he took part.

(21) *Didār*—"Khwāja Didār" in the Bāburnāma, e.g. p. 147. It was near Samarqand.

(22) *Ḥamza Sultān* was a son of the Uzbek Chief Bakhtiyār Sultān, who was killed in one of Abū'l-Khayr's battles.

*Bāqī Sultān.* I cannot keep thinking this to be a copyist's error for Mahdī Sultān, who appears to have been Ḥamza Sultān's brother. The two are always mentioned together. Bābur says "Ḥamza Sultān and Mahdī Sultān were lying near the fort, in the Quail-reserve" (p. 131, Bāburnāma).

(23) *The hunting ground*—Persian قرق (Quruq) meadow or hunting reserve, of which there were several round Samarqand—Kān-i-gīl being one. This Quruq must be Bābur's "Quail-reserve."

(24) *Jūjīya Kārawān.* This may possibly be the place called Khwāja Kārdzan in the Bāburnāma (p. 138). For a description of the battle (of Sar-i-pul) see the Bāburnāma (pp. 138-141).

(25) *His two uncles.* Kūchū Yahyā, better known as Kūcl and Kūchūnjī, or Kūchum Khān, and Sūnjuk Sultān, were sons of Rāb, daughter of Ulūgh Beg bin Shāh Rukh : there was also another son Āq Burūn. Qipchāq Khān says that Shaybak gave Turkistān to Kūchum, Tāshkand to Sūnjuk, Bukhārā to his brother Maḥmūd, Andijān to Jānī Beg, Shāhrukhīyya to Amīr Wafādār, Samarqand to Aḥmad Sultān, Shādmān to Ḥamza Sultān, Tirmiz to Muḥammad Sultān, Baghlān to Sayyid 'Āshiq, Qunduz to 'Umar Beg.

(26) *Pul-i-sangīn* (stone bridge). Not of course, the Pul-i-sangīn over the Surkhāb river near Ḥiṣār ; it must be a common name ; probably, in this case, some bridge over the Gurgān river near Astarābād—perhaps at Āq Qal'a, where there is a stone bridge now. (Rabino, Māzandarān and Astarābād, p. 91). The Chahār Maqāla mentions a Pul-i-sangīn near Ghazna.

(27) *Shekh 'Alī Beg.* I do not find this person mentioned elsewhere, unless he is the 'Alī Beg mentioned on p. 51. On p. 47 the Ruler of Yazd is said to be Murād Beg Bāyandur.

(28) *Abarqūh*, a district and town between Shirāz and Yazd. Williams Jackson (Persia, Past and Present, p. 341), says it is commonly called Barkūh, as if the name meant "on the mountain". See also Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 284.

(29) *Bāwvanāt* is a village some 20 miles N.E. of Mashhad-i-Murghāb in Fārs. Vide Le Strange's note on p. 121 of his translation of the Nuzhatu'l-qulūb.

(30) *Bāzar*, mentioned by Ḥamdullāh Muṣṭawfī as a medium sized town in longitude 95' and latitude 36' 40". Le Strange says it does not appear to be mentioned by other geographers.

(31) *Farrukh Yasār.* Shīrwānshāh—شیروان—gives 873 A.H. as the date of Farrukh Yasār's accession. So does مقتل سلطان ابر سعید, which is the chronogram in the verses quoted in the Rauzatū'l-ṣafā, the Akhlāq-i-Jalālī, and, with slight modification, the Sharafnāma, and given by Browne (Vol. III, p. 389). This makes his reign 33 years, not 37 as here stated. His treachery towards Sultān Abū Sa'id is mentioned by most writers. Thus in the Rauzatū'l-jannāt of Mu'īnu'd-dīn Muḥammad (written in 897 A.H. and dedicated to Sultān Ḥusayn) we have:—

سبب یافعی شدن او آن بود که حسن بیگ قاصدی پیش او فرستاده بود که لشکر چغتای اگر زنده مانند عاقبت مراجعت خواهند نمود و آن زمان دوستی ایشان ترا چه سود خواهد داشت شیروان شاه ازین سخن اندیشناک شده اظهار مخالفت کرد

The Sharafnāma says that, when Abū Sa'id was seven farsakhs from Qarā Bāgh, scarcity of food made him decide to go to Qarā Āghāch and Maḥmudābād, so that the Shīrwān King, who pretended loyalty, could help him. Khwāndamīr's Khulāṣatu'l-akhbār says : ناکاه شیروانشاه

بواسطهٔ وعيد و تمهید امیر حسن بیگ طبل مخالفت فرو کو. Farrukh Yasār m was the cause of the death of both Junayd and Ḥaydar—Ismā'il's grandfather and father. Vide Browne, Vol. IV, pp. 47, 48.

(32) *Qāzī Begī money*. The Bodleian MS. of the *Jahān Arā* writes Ghāzī Beg, and there is the same confusion between قاضی and غازی in the MSS. regarding the name of a later ruler of Khwārazm. In André Dauber-Deslandes' "Beauties of Persia" (Translation for the Persia Society, p. 7) I find :—"The copper coins are (c. 1673 A.D.) the Kasbek which is worth nearly two liards, and the half Kasbek", i.e. a farthing and half a farthing. Poole (Coins of the Shahs of Persia, Introduction, p. LXI) quotes Hanway's tables, in which the 'Kāsbegī' is given as  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of a Shāhī, which was a silver coin 18 grains in weight. The Kāsbegī was also current in Georgia (vide Brosset, *Histoire de Géorgie*, Introduction), together with two, three, and four Kāsbegī pieces. Brosset makes it, like Hanway,  $\frac{1}{10}$ th Shāhī. The Qāz bek is stated to have been current, and to have been worth five *dinārs*, in the time of Shāh 'Abbās; the Qāz is said to be still current in Gilān at the value given by Brosset and Hanway (*Ganj-i-Shāyagān*, Berlin Kāwa Press, 1335 A.H., pp. 173, 174).

(33) *'Alī Shīr* (Nizāmu'd-dīn Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i). See Browne, Vol. III, pp. 505, 506; and elsewhere. Dawlatshāh has a long notice of this famous man (p. 494, et seq. of Browne's edition of the text), with a list of his pious foundations, etc. Nawā'i is usually said to be his pen-name. If derived from a place, Nawā is a district of Ṭabaristān under Lāhijān. Nawā is also a Mughal tribe. Vide the word in the *Farhang-i-Nāṣirī*. When writing Persian poetry 'Alī Shīr's pen-name was Fanā'i. To bend the knee nine times was the salute to the Moghul rulers; see *Zafarnāma*, Vol. I, p. 97 :—

سرفرازان و گردن کشان بیک بار نه بار زانو زدند

(34) *Amīr Darwīsh Muḥammad Tarkhān*. See *Bāburnāma*, p. 38.

*Amīr Aḥmad Hājī*. Ditto. "Mīr 'Alī Sher Nawā'i, when he went from Hīrī to Samarkand, was with Aḥmad Hājī Beg, but he went back to Hīrī when Sī. Ḥusain Mīrzā became supreme (873 A.H.)."

(35) *Khawāja Muḥiddu'd-dīn*. I do not find mention of this person elsewhere.

(36) *Khawāja Shihābu'd-dīn 'Abdu'l-bāqī bin Sayyid Khawāja Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad Marwārīd* was Ṣadr of Sulṭān Ḥusayn; according to the Ḥabību's-siyar he retired after the Sulṭān's death, and died in 922 A.H. Amīnī wrote a dirge on his death, ending :—

بر لوح دل نوشت امینی بدود آه تاریخ آنکه قدو اهل کمال رفت (922 A.H.)

(37) *Khawāja 'Abdullāh* (Marwārīd). The Khawāja's name is to be found in most *Tazkiras*, e.g. the *Safīna*. See *Bāburnāma*, p. 278. He was "a highly accomplished man; he was an expert performer on

the dulcimer, a fine calligraphist, and a charming poet. But vicious and shameless he became the captive of a sinful disease through his vicious excesses, outlived his hands and feet, tasted the agonies of torture for several years, and departed from the world under that affliction" (Edwardes' *Babur*, p. 98). He left two sons, Khwāja 'Abdu'l-mūmin, a well-known calligraphist, and Khwāja Muḥammad Mūmin, who became tutor to Sām Mirzā (Ḥabibu's-siyar). The Aḥsan follows the Ḥabibu's-siyar and Sām Mirzā in putting the date of Khwāja 'Abdullāh's death as 922 A.H.; Mr. Beveridge (J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 170) considered this a mistake for 932 A.H.

## 907 A.H.

(1) *Nakhchiwān*. The name of this town is supposed to mean "Noah's first station"—after descending from Ararat. See Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 22; and Eastwick, *Journal of a Diplomat's three years' residence in Persia*, p. 166.

(2) *Pirī Beg Qājār* is mentioned in the Ḥabibu's-siyar as the Chief who came to Shekh Ḥaydar in Shīrwān to warn him that Ya'qūb had sent Sulaymān Beg to aid Farrukh Yasār.

(3) *His Majesty took his place in the Royal Capital*. Except this, and the statement made later on that Ismā'il reigned 24 years, there is no mention of Ismā'il's actual accession. The matter is discussed by R. S. Poole in "The Coins of the Shahs of Persia", Introduction, p. XXIII. It was in 906 A.H. that Ismā'il appointed his chief officers. And the establishment of the Shī'a faith was in 906 A.H., according to the chronogram attributed by the *Sharafnāma* to Mawlānā Idrīs of Bitlis (but by others to the Mujtahid Shekh 'Alī 'Abdu'l-'Ālī), viz. : در معلى كه شاه اسمعيل خروچ کرده مذهب روافض را رواج داد مولانا ادریس ناریخ آن را مذهب ناحق یافت. Poole, however, quoting Rieu, writes: "The Jahan Ara, Lubbu't-tawarikh, *Tarikh-i-Elchi*, *Alam Arai*, all agree that the actual julus, with Khutba and Sikka, took place at Tabriz, immediately after the battle of Shorur. That battle took place in the early spring A.H. 907..... The Ḥabibu's-siyar stands alone in speaking of a julus in 906." But the Ḥabibu's-siyar expressly mentions the julus *after* the battle of Shurūr. This is quite clear.

(4) *Sultān Tughhrul Beg* was the Saljūq Sultān who made himself lieutenant of the 'Abbāsīd Khalifa of Baghdād. In 450 A.H. Arslān al-Basāsīrī, a Turkish general of the Baghdād troops with headquarters near Mawṣil, revolted against the Khalifa, Al-Qā'im, and expelled him from Baghdād, and had the Khutba read in the name of the Fātimīd al-Mustansīr. Tughhrul Beg attacked and slew Al-Basāsīrī, and reinstated the 'Abbāsīd in Baghdād. See O'Leary's *Fatimid Khalifate*, p. 201; also the *Rāḥatu's-sudūr* (Gibb. Mem. Series, Vol. II, New Series, p. 107).

(5) *Shekh Jamālu'd-dīn*, i.e. Jamālu'd-dīn Abū Maṣṣūr-al-Ḥasanī bin Yūsuf bin 'Alī bin al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (b. 648, d. 726 A.H.) vide Rieu, Supplement to the Arabic MSS. in the British Museum, p. 212.

(6) *Mīrzā Ulūgh Beg* bin Sultān Abū Sa'īd is not, of course, to be confused with the better known Ulūgh Beg, son of Shāh Rukh and grandson of Timūr. This Ulūgh ruled in Kābul, from which his son, 'Abdu'r-razzāq, was ejected by Amīr Zu'n-nūn's son.

## 908 A.H.

(1) *Awjān*. The town is near Tabriz; the Īlkhāns used to winter here or at Baghdād. Timūr visited the place; Qarā Yūsuf died there; Ghāzān rebuilt it, and supplied it with markets.

(2) *Tirmid*, or Tirmiz (Tirmidh) on the Oxus between Balkh and Ḥiṣār.

(3) *Amīr Bāqī Chaghāniānī* was younger brother of Khusraw Shāh.

(4) *Nāṣir and Maṣṣūr Turkmāns*. I cannot find any further mention of these persons. Possibly they were Chiefs attached to Alwand Beg, and their opposition was a last effort of the White Sheep Turkmāns.

(5) *Mawlānā Jalālu'd-dīn Dawwānī*. The works cited are by no means all that were written by this prolific writer and philosopher. The best known is, of course, the Akhlāq-i-Jalālī which is largely based on the Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī of Naṣīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī. The Haft Iqlīm says that Jalāl was taken to Herāt by Sultān Abū Sa'īd. Dawwān is a village 2½ leagues north of Kāzarūn.

So many of the philosophers mentioned in this and similar works wrote commentaries on the Tajrīd, Mawāqif, etc. that a few words will not be out of place regarding these works.

*Tajrīdu'l-'aqa'id* is a work on scholastic philosophy and its principles by Naṣīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī—for whom see Browne, Vol. II, p. 484. The best known commentary is that of 'Alā'u'd-dīn 'Alī Qūshjī.

*Maṭālī*—probably مطالع الانوار فى الحكمة و المنطق by Qāṣi Sirāju'd-dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Alī Baqr al-Urmawī (d. 689 A.H.).

*Iḡbāt-i-wājib* (by Dawwānī, and other writers) on metaphysics; the Proof of the Necessarily Existing, i.e. God, who is Wājibu'l-wujūd as distinguished from man, who is Mumkinu'l-wujūd. (See the introduction to the Chahār Maqāla.)

*Ṭawālī* (طوال التزئير و التئوير) by Shekh Najmu'd-dīn al-Kubrā (d. 617 A.H.).

*Tahzībū'l-mantiq wa'l-kalām*, on logic and dogma, by Ṣa'du'd-dīn Mas'ūd bin 'Umar al-Taftāzānī (d. 792 A.H.).

*Mawāqif* (مواقف فى علم الكلام), on scholastic philosophy, by 'Azudu'd-dīn 'Abdu'r-raḥmān bin Aḥmad al-Ījī (d. 756 A.H.). A well-known commentary is by 'Alī bin Muḥammada's-sayyida'sh-sharifu'l-Jurjānī (d. 816 A.H.). The Mawāqif was dedicated to Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn son of



the author of the Jāmi'u't-tawārikh, as was also Ḥamdullāh Muṣṭawfi's Ta'rikh-i-guzida.

*Kubrā*. (Al-kubrā fi'l-mantiq) by al-Jurjānī—a work on logic.

*Kāfiya*, a work on Arabic syntax by Ibnu'l-Ḥājib (d. 646 A.H.).

*Shāfiya*, an etymological treatise—a supplement to the above—by Ibnu'l-Ḥājib.

*Alfiyya*, a treatise on grammar in verse by Ibnu'l-Mālik (d. 672 A.H.), published with a commentary by Silvestre de Sacy.

*Mufaṣṣal*, a treatise on grammar by Az-Zamakhshari (d. 538 A.H.).

*Shamsiyya*, a manual on logic, by Najmu'd-din 'Alī bin 'Umar al-Kātibī al-Qazwini (died 693 A.H.), and dedicated to Hulāgū's Wazīr Shamsu'd-din Muḥammad al-Juwaynī.

*Shama'il*, a work on the traditions by Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad al-Tirmidhi (d. 892 A.H.).

*Farā'iz*—probably Jawāhiru'l-farā'iz by Naṣīru'd-din Ṭūsī, on the laws of inheritance.

*Zawrā*, the name of the bend of the Tigris at Baghdād; used metaphorically to indicate theological doctrine.

*Qawā'id*, rules laid down by the Shī'a divine, Shekh Shamsu'd-din Muḥammad (known as Shahīd-i-awwal—the first martyr, killed 786 A.H.), also قواعد شرائع الاسلام by Jamālu'd-din [vide note on 907 A.H. (5)].

It may be remarked that Ibnu'l Ḥājib and others “considered grammar as merely subsidiary to the elucidation of legal propositions” (Howell, Arabic Grammar).

The description of the writing of the Risāla-i-Zawrā is almost in the very words of Khwāndamīr's Ḥabību's-siyar; this being one of the instances which show Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū's indebtedness to Khwāndamīr:—

رافم حروف از جناب شیخ محمد کرمانی استماع نمود که جناب مولوی در وقتی که  
بنجف اشرف رفته بود در روضه کعبه منزلت حضرت شاه ولایت علیه الصلوٰه و السلام روزی  
بر پای ایستاده این رساله را تصنیف نمود و باین مناسبت آن تصنیف را بزوراء موسوم  
گردانید

## 909 A.H.

(1) *Jūyum*, or Gūyum (some 20 miles N.W. of Shirāz), was the capital of the old province of Irāhistān in Fārs (vide Le Strange's *Nuzhatu'l-qulūb*, p. 124, note). It is said (by one who visited it in 1902) to be now a flourishing village of 1,000 inhabitants.

(2) *The plain of Arzan*—on the Shirāz-Bushīre road. See Curzon's *Persia*, Vol. II, p. 200.

(3) *Disposing of its affairs*. It appears that in fact there were some cruel executions of Sunnīs at Shirāz.

(4) *Iliās Beg*. This Iliās Beg must not be confused with Iliās Beg Zu'l-Qadar, known as Kachal Beg, who had just been appointed Governor of Shīrāz (Jahān Ārā)—a governorship which remained in his family, as the Sharafnāma says, for fifty years.

*Husayn Kiyā* bin 'Alī bin Lubrāsp Chulāwī is mentioned among the petty rulers of parts of Māzandarān by Rabino (Māzandarān and Astarābād, p. 141), but with no details. Chulāw, or Chulāb, is a district of Māzandarān, N.W. from Mt. Damavand.

*Rustamdār*. See Rabino's Māzandarān and Astarābād, p. 26. The rulers of Rustamdār were known as Gāwbāra, because, says the Jahān Ārā, the first of the line went to spy out the country, and : نصرت مجهول چند گاو بار کرده بنظاره آن ولایت رفت. Khwar Shāh says that in Ismā'il's time there were two Chiefs, descended, as they said, from the ancient kings of Persia—Malik Kāūs Kūchū and Malik Bahman of Nūr.

(5) *Warāmīn*, a fort under Ray (Nuzhatu'l-qulūb, Le Strange's translation, p. 61).

(6) *Muḥammad Husayn Mīrẓā*—being at variance with his father (Sharafnāma).

(7) *Murād Beg Jahānshāhlū*. According to the Jahān Ārā, this man was captured with Husayn Kiyā and was burnt (بواسطه عبرت کباب کردند)—which statement is accepted by the 'Ālam-Ārāy-i-'Abbāsī. Qipchāq Khān says that Husayn Kiyā was burnt, and the Ghāzīs ate his flesh. Gul-i-Khandān and Ustā are not shown in the map, but they were on, or close to, the Habla Rūd (spelt variously حبله and حبل).

(8) *Sāwukh Bulāgh* (cold fountain) near Ray. The Nuzhatu'l-qulūb (Le Strange's translation, p. 68) says this place was, in Saljūq times, tributary to Ray.

(9) *Kabūd Gumbad*, or Blue Dome, is Ray, some 20 miles E. of Tehrān. There are other places of this name in Persia; certainly there appears to be one near Kalāt-i-Nādirī (جغرافیای مفصل ایران, p. 45).

(10) *Ardasand, Ustanādiq*. I am not sure if the reading of these names is correct, nor of their exact locality.

(11) *Kharqān*. There appears to be some doubt as to this place. Charmoy says it is a district and range of hills twelve leagues north of Qazwīn. According to the Ta'rikh-i-guzida Kharraqān was one of the districts under Qazwīn. In the Rāḥatu's-ṣudūr (p. 297 of Muḥammad Iqbāl's edition, Gibb. New Series, Vol. II) Kharraqān is clearly near Ray. The Maṣnawī (Book IV, l. 1814, Nicholson's edition) has : در سواد ری ز سوی خارقان. On the other hand the Kharraqān of the Nuzhatu'l-qulūb lies in the country between Qazwīn and Hamadān. And in Sidi Reis' Travels, by Vambéry, p. 101, "Kirkān" is clearly between Abhar and Darjuzīn. The Ḥabību's-siyar writes "Kharqān-i-Sultāniyya," thus fixing Kharqān (or Kharraqān) as being under Sultāniyya. In the

recently published *کوههای خرقان* is the following : *کوههای خرقان* در جنوب غربی قزوین واقع و قلعه عمده آن قزل داغ است و از جنوب شرقی بکوههای ساوه ختم میشود. And I think this is Shāh Ismā'il's Kharqān.

(12) *Sūrluq*—like Kharqān, a favourite summer resort of the Ṣafawī kings—appears to be near Sultāniyya. The Jahān Ārā writes “Sūrluq of Sultāniyya”.

(13) *The siege of Balkh by Shaybak Khān*. There is nothing about this unsuccessful attack on Balkh in the Bāburnāma, as there is a lacuna here in the text. It is however mentioned by the Ta'rikh-i-Rashidī (Elias and Ross, p. 164). Balkh was captured three years later by Shaybak Khān. With reference to this Qipchāq Khān gives a chronogram, which yields the date 909 A.H.—the date of the unsuccessful attack. The verses are :—

محمد خان چو از آمویه بگذشت      شراب عیش اهل بلخ شد تلخ  
تمامی شهر شد و بران ز ناراج      شده تاراج ازان و برانی بلخ

(14) *The ford of Kūkī*. I should like to read Karkī, but the MSS. plainly say Kūkī, which place I do not know.

(15) *Sān and Chāryak*. Shown as Sanchairak in Curzon's map ; near Shiburghān ; called Sān and Harek by Howorth. See Mrs. Beveridge's note in Bāburnāma, p. 295. Sayyid Izzatullah, who explored this region in 1812, calls the place Sunchayuruk (Sanchāyarak).

## 910 A.H.

(1) *Shu'ayb Āghā*. The Jahān Ārā calls this person جوقه بیگ.

(2) *At Isfahān*. The Jahān Ārā says that Karra killed himself on the way to Isfahān, and his body was burnt there together with all his retainers (متعلقان).

(3) *Amīr Kamālū'd-dīn Ḥusayn Ṣadr*. See Bāburnāma, p. 280. He became Ṣadr in 904 A.H. ; he was also sent as an envoy by Sultān Ḥusayn to Shaybak Khān. He is called Abīwardī in the Ḥabību's-siyar, and a story is told of his being sent by 'Alī Shīr to Sultān Ya'qūb, and told to take a copy of the Kulliyāt of Jāmī as a present. He took another book, which resembled it in size and binding, and this mistake and his subsequent pretence lost him his reputation with the Minister.

(4) *Mahmūd Sultān—marched on Qunduz*. This comes into the lacuna in the Bāburnāma mentioned above. See, however, the Ta'rikh-i-Rashidī (Elias and Ross), pp. 169, 170. Shaybak Khān himself was besieging Ḥiṣār (Shādmān). “He . . . sent a mandate to Mahamed Sultān, ordering him to take as many men from the army as he wanted, and to advance on Kunduz.” Mahmūd Sultān died at Qunduz.

(5) *The capture of Kābul, by Bābur*. See Bāburnāma, p. 196, et seq., Ta'rikh-i-Rashidī, p. 177. Khusraw Shāh having fled from Qunduz,

paid his respects to Bābur in the latter's camp ; large numbers of his men had already joined Bābur. Muḥammad Muqīm was allowed to go to Qandahār, with all his effects and followers.

(6) *The Jahānārāy Garden* in Herāt was made by Tīmūr. (Khwān-damīr's *Khulāṣatu'l-akhbār*.)

(7) *Kār Kiyā Sultān Ḥasan*. It is clear that the name should be Ḥasan. Rabino (J.R.A.S., 1918, p. 90) states that Ḥasan was murdered by his brother 'Alī "who himself was killed the next day by the followers of his victim". Khwar Shāh, who wrote the *Ta'rikh-i-Elchī-i-Nizāmshāh* (Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, Vol. II), says Ḥasan was killed by persons supposed to have been instigated by 'Alī, and his partisans in return killed 'Alī. 'Alī is described as a religious man but still, I suppose, he *may* have murdered his brother.

(8) *Alwand*. The Ḥabību's-siyar says that when Qāsim Beg, the Bāyandur Chief, arose Alwand went to Diyārbakr where he fell ill and died. Another tale is that he was captured and killed by Shāh Ismā'il—see Browne, Vol. IV, p. 62. The *Lubbu't-tawārikh* supports the Aḥsan and Ḥabību's-siyar.

## 911 A.H.

(1) *Amīr Ḥusāmu'd-dīn* was the Ruler of Biya Pas, and an enemy of the Biya Pish King, Sultān Aḥmad, who had just succeeded his father Sultān Ḥasan. Shāh Ismā'il sent envoys requesting him to make peace. His refusal led to the expedition against him. It was decided that Ḥusāmu'd-dīn should receive Kūchisfān from Biya Pish. For these and other details see H. L. Rabino's Article J.R.A.S., 1918, p. 95. Ḥusāmu'd-dīn was the second son of Amīra Ishāq—for whom see note (7) under 900 A.H.

(2) *Maymana and Fāryāb*. These towns are again mentioned together on p. 91, as the farthest points reached by Ismā'il after his defeat of Shaybak Khān. Fāryāb, near Balkh, is to be distinguished from Fārāb (Uṭrār) in Turkistān near the Sīhūn river. For Maymana see Vambéry's *Life*, p. 251, and *Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 425.

(3) *Muḥammad Qāsim Mīrzā*—presumably son of Sultān Ḥusayn.

(4) *Amīr Shīram Jalā'ir*, perhaps the person called Shīram Chahra, p. 169, *Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī*—a dependent of Khusraw Shāh.

(5) *Bābā Jān*—possibly the Amīr Bābā 'Alī of pp. 14, 27, and *Bābur-nāma*, p. 278.

(6) *Bābā Ilāhī*, in the Bādghīs district.

(7) *Qūrchībāshī*. For "qūrchī" see notes on the text. Barthold translates qūrchī (korchi) "archers" (*Turkestan*, p. 382).

(8) *Sultān Ḥusayn*. This monarch has been dealt with by all historians from Malcolm to Browne. Bābur has a long account of his Court.

(9) *Khadija Bēgī Āghā*. She was a former mistress of Sultān Abū Saʿīd, and then the wife of Sultān Ḥusayn, by whom she had two sons, Muẓaffar Ḥusayn and Shāh Gharīb Mirzā. Her action at this time brought about the ruin of Sultān Ḥusayn's family, and of herself. When Shaybak Khān took Herāt he handed her over to Shāh Maṣṣūr the betrayer of Andikhūd. (See below.)

## 912 A.H.

(1) *Ṣārim Kurd*, i.e. Ṣārim bin Sayfu'd-dīn Mukrī. The Sharaf-nāma says that the Qizilbāshes had several fights with this Chief, ending in the disastrous campaign, in which 'Abdī Beg bin-Dūrmish Khān and Ṣāru 'Alī lost their lives. Later Ṣārim submitted to Sultān Salīm, and on Sulaymān's accession went to Constantinople.

(2) *Īl Amān*. I do not find Īl Amān mentioned elsewhere.

(3) *Sultān Bāyazīd Barlās* may be the Sultān Bāyazīd of the Bāburnāma, pp. 411, 412.

(4) *Bābur came to Herāt*. Bābur describes this visit with interesting details. (Bāburnāma, p. 300 et seq.)

(5) *Kupukī tūmāns*. Kupukī dīnārs and tūmāns are frequently mentioned as coins or denominations commonly used in Khurāsān and other territories under Turkī control. Bābur mentions the tūmān, and Dawlatshāh says that the cost of maintaining 'Alī Shīr's charitable buildings was about پانصد تومان رایج کپکی. Kupukī dīnārs are mentioned in the Zafarnāma of Sharafu'd-dīn 'Alī—in which it is the usual standard of value, e.g. when writing of the sack of Damascus in 803 A.H. (Calc. Ed., Vol. II, p. 336). At the sack of Iṣfahān the price of a head was at first 20 Kupukī dīnārs—later reduced to half a dīnār (Vol. I, p. 434). And the levy on Shīrāz was a thousand Kupukī tūmāns (Vol. I, p. 437). Still earlier, in 734 A.H., a grant of 100,000 Kupukī dīnārs was made annually to Mubārizu'd-dīn Muḥammad by the Emperor Abū Saʿīd. (Vide Defrémercy's article in the Journal Asiatique, Aug. 1844, p. 100.) I have not been able to discover who the Kupuk was that gave his name to this coinage—perhaps the Chaghatāy Kibak Khān (Lane-Poole's Mohammedan Dynasties, p. 242). Kupuk (Kipuk?) “hunch backed”, “round shouldered”, was a common nickname. Kupuk Khānī is used as a tribal name in the Zafarnāma (e.g. Vol. II, p. 425, l. 14). For a further discussion see S. H. Hoḍivālā's Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, p. 187. Professor Hoḍivālā gives reasons for considering the dīnār equal to a gold coin weighing 43 grains. It seems probable that the Russian “Copeck” is of different origin and derivation.

(6) *Zu'n-nūn and Muḥammad Burandūq* seem to have advised the Mirzās differently on several occasions. See Bāburnāma, p. 326. This irresolution, as much as anything, spoilt the Mirzās' plans.

(7) *Shaybak Khān had taken Balkh*. When Badī'u'z-zamān heard of his father's serious illness he left Balkh to Subḥān 'Alī Khān Qipchāq and went to Herāt, and Shaybak laid siege to Balkh, and eventually took it, massacred the inhabitants, razed the city to the ground, and gave the district to his little son Khurramshāh—the child of Khānzāda Begam, Bābur's sister, who had fallen into Shaybak Khān's hands when Bābur fled from Samarqand in 907 A.H. So the Ta'rikh-i-Qipchāq-khānī, whose author (Qipchāq Khān 'urf Khwājam Qulī Beg Balkhī bin Qipchāq Khān 'urf Imām Qulī, Qāūsbeḡi of Subḥān Qulī Khān Wālī of Tūrān) was an officer of Amīr Subḥān 'Alī's descendant.

After taking Balkh, Qipchāq Khān continues, Shaybak Khān returned to Samarqand, repaired the bridge of Amīr Shāh Malik on the Zarafshān river, and at the end of the year (912 A.H.) crossed the Oxus by the Karkī ford, received Andikhūd from Shāh Manṣūr Bakhshī, and reached Chihil Dukhtarān in Muḥarram 913 A.H. Shortly after he fought the battle at which Amīr Zu'n-nūn was killed.

### 913 A.H.

(1) *'Alā'u'd-dawla* bin Naṣīru'd-dīn, the head of the Zu'l-Qadar tribe of Diyārbakr—Herbert's "Aladeules, the mountainous king"—is dealt with later on. The authorities differ as to the immediate cause of Ismā'il's campaign against him. According to the Ḥabību's-siyar, Ismā'il heard that Murād had fled to Baghdād and then taken refuge with 'Alā'u'd-dawla, who had given him his daughter. The Jahān Ārā states that Ummat Chāūshlū, son of Bābā Sulṭān Ustājilū, was sent by Ismā'il as an envoy to 'Alā'u'd-dawla, who put him in prison. Ismā'il, owing to a dream, went to secure his release. Khwāndamīr goes on to say that 'Alā'u'd-dawla fled to Albistān and thence to Mt. Durna (Crane Hill), where he was besieged. A Zu'l-Qadar force opposed the invaders, and fought a battle lasting three days, and ending in their defeat and the advance of Ismā'il to Diyārbakr. This is the statement to which Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū objects. In this matter the Ta'rikh-i-Ālam Ārāy-i-'Abbāsī follows the Ḥabību's-siyar, but the alleged battle is not mentioned by the Lubbu't-tawārikh, Jahān Ārā, or Sharafnāma. The Jahān Ārā says that Dada Beg, not Lala Beg, crossed the Jahān River against orders (بخلاف حکم). The Sharafnāma says that Ismā'il set out to conquer Mar'ash, reached the neighbourhood of Qayṣariyya, advanced to Mt. Durna, took Kharpūt, and received the submission of Amīr Beg Mawṣilū. Amīr Beg, according to the Jahān Ārā, took Diyārbakr after the death of Alwand. He is frequently mentioned in this chronicle till his death in 928 A.H. As for the mock title of Alādāna,

see notes on the text. The village of Yar Pard is unknown to me ; readings vary, and may possibly be corrupt. 'The river Jahān, rising near Albistān, flows into the Gulf of Alexandra.

(2) *Šāru Qapālān*, i.e. the Yellow (or fair) Panther.

(3) *Qarā Āmid*. See notes on the text. I have adopted Āmid for the Ḥamid of the text. For the town see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 108-111.

(4) *The war of Shaybak Khān and Badī'u'z-zamān*. There is but little about this in the Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī, which however gives as a chronogram فتح خراسان from Mir Muḥammad Šāliḥ. (خراسان, alone, gives 912 A.H.) For Bābur's account see Bāburnāma, pp. 325-330.

*Khaylān and Khatlān*. For Khatlān (Ar. ختلان) see Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī's note on p. 166 of the Chahār Maqāla (Gibb Memorial, Vol. XI). It is a district across the Oxus from Badakhshān. Khaylān I do not find mentioned in any authority ; I take it, perhaps, to be Khaylām which was the name of the source of the Sihūn (Jaxartes) now called the R. Nārīn, and of the chief town of the district between this river and the Gulshā river known as Miyān-i-Rūdān. See Barthold's *Turkestan*, p. 155 (Gibb Memorial, New Series, Vol. V).

(5) *Amīr Shāh Maṣṣūr Bakhshī*. The chronogram given by Qipchāq Khān is : شاه منصور آمد و بخشی بود تاریخ فتح.

(6) *Amīr Zu'n-nūn attacked*. The scene of the battle was, according to Qipchāq Khān, Tāsh Ribāṭ near Chihil Dukhtarān. The Aḥsan calls it, later on, Marāl (the Hind). Mrs. Beveridge, quoting Raverty, says "between Belāq-i-marāl and Rabāṭ-i-'ali-sheer, near Bādghis" (Bāburnāma, p. 327, note).

(7) *Amīr Jalālū'd-dīn Muḥaddiṣ*. Probably he is Amīr Jalālū'd-dīn 'Atā'ullāh, a theologian mentioned in the Ḥabību's-siyar among the learned men of Sultān Ḥusayn's Court. He was the author of a work styled : منقبت روضة الاحباب في مسير النبي.

(8) *Amīr Ghiyāṣū'd-dīn Muḥammad*. See later note on A.H. 927.

(9) For the Shekhu'l-Islām see note on A.H. 916 (15).

*Kahadstān*. I have adopted the spelling suggested by Mrs. Beveridge. See her note, Bāburnāma, p. 305. It is called by other authors Kihdastan, Kahdastan, and Kuhdastan—the last by Charmoy, who says it is a suburb on the east of Herāt. The Zafarnāma calls it a meadow (مرغزار) on the east of Herāt.

(10) *Tūruq*, a few miles south of Mashhad, on the Tehrān road.

(11) *Salghūr Shāh*. "During the supremacy of the Salghurid Atābeqs of Fars, Hormuz formed one of their subordinate governments. When that dynasty came to an end" (i.e. about 1285 A.D. in Arghūn's reign) "Maḥmud Kalhatti, who had been governor of the island,

established himself as prince of Hormuz ” (Howorth, Part III, p. 418). According to the *Jahān Ārā* Salghūr did not die till 971, having succeeded his father in 913 A.H. He was followed by Muḥammad Shāh, who died in 972 A.H., and was succeeded by his son Farrukh Shāh. This was the first attack on Hormuz by Albuquerque. Owing to desertions he had to return to Sakotra. Next year he returned, but again had to leave, and went to India where he became Governor. It was not till seven years later (1515 A.D.) that he was able to complete the conquest of the island. Vide Sir Arnold Wilson's *Early Spanish and Portuguese Travellers in Persia* (Persia Society publication).

(12) *The Nāimān tribe*. Nāimān is said to be a Mongol word meaning 'eight'. Mirzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī supposes the tribe to be the same as that mentioned as Sāqīz, one of the Mongol tribes of Chingīz Khān (*Jahāngushā*, Vol. XVI; Gibb Memorial Series, p. 26). Elias and Ross (*Ta'rikh-i-Rashidī*, p. 93) say that the Uīghūrs were composed of at least two confederacies, the Nāimān Uīghūrs and the Toghūz (nine) Uīghūrs—in which case Nāimāns were Turks rather than Mongols. Howorth is clear that they were Turks, and not Mongols.

(13) *Bābur came to Qandahār*—apparently because of Amīr Shujā' Beg's overtures to the Uzbek Chief. Bābur's account is on pp. 330–339 of the *Bāburnāma*. He says that the two brothers—Shujā' Beg (whom he calls Shāh Beg) and Muḥammad Muqīm—first suggested alliance against Shaybak Khān; so he set out for Qandahār. On the way Bābur got letters showing that the Arghūn policy had changed. He marched on, and fought the brothers, and took Qandahār. Regarding the treasure taken there, Bābur writes:—"Such masses of white money had never been seen in those countries."

(14) *Shāh Bēg*, i.e. Amīr Shujā' bin Amīr Zu'n-nūn; the elder brother of Muḥammad Muqīm.

(15) *Yādgār-i-Muḥammad* bin Mirzā Muḥammad bin Mirzā Bāys-unqur bin Shāh Rukh bin Tīmūr. This Timurid prince was with Jahānshāh of the Black Sheep Turkmāns when they were defeated by Uzūn Ḥasan in 871 A.H. Joining Uzūn Ḥasan he was, in 873 A.H., the executioner of Sultān Abū Sa'id, in revenge for Abū Sa'id's murder of his great-grandmother, Gohar Shād Begam, the widow of Shāh Rukh. When Sultān Ḥusayn had assumed rule over Herāt Yādgār twice opposed him; but, in 875 A.H., he was suddenly attacked by Sultān Ḥusayn, and killed in the Ravens' Garden at Herāt. See *Lubbu't-tawārikh*, *Jahān Ārā*, and especially the Ḥabību's-siyar, which has a full account of Yādgār and his death. Dawlatshāh has also details about Yādgār in his long account of Sultān Ḥusayn's life.

*Yalghūz Yighāch* under Khabūshān. This village was visited by Tīmūr, when setting out on his five years' campaign in Persia in 794 A.H., on his way from Abiward to Astarābād. (*Zafarnāma*, Vol. I, p. 569.)



(16) *Shāl and Mastung*—districts of Baluchistān, now Quetta and south of Quetta.

## 914 A.H.

(1) *And they were approved*, ( مستحسنين ). The Jahān Ārā says that Ismā'il remarked that he would believe Bārik sincere, if he came himself ; and Ismā'il set out for Baghdād. Thereupon Bārik fled, knowing that most of the people were Shī'as, and would not support him against the Shāh. Khalīl Yasāwal was sent to Baghdād to call Bārik to obedience ( به ايلي دعوت نمودن ).

(2) *Khalīfatū'l-Khulafā* (Khalīfa of Khalīfas). Many writers say that this name was given to Khādim Beg, the new Governor of Baghdād, in derision of the former Khalīfas.

(3) *Sulṭān Fayyāz Musha'sha'i* was the representative of a family of Shī'a extremists, descended from Musā al-Kāẓim and ruling in Ḥuwayza, Dizfūl, and Shūshtar. See Browne, Vol. IV, p. 58. According to the Ḥabibu's-siyar Ismā'il heard that on the death of Sulṭān Muḥsin of Ḥuwayza his son Fayyāz had succeeded and the Musha'sha'is attributed divinity to him. There was a battle, and Fayyāz was killed.

(4) *Rustam* bin Shāh Ḥusayn bin Malik 'Izzu'd-dīn died soon after, and was succeeded by his son Ughūz, who ruled till 940 A.H., when his brother Jahāngīr succeeded him. This Jahāngīr, who is mentioned later, was put to death by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 949 A.H.

(5) *At Shīrāz*—going there by way of Kūh Gilūya, according to the Jahān Ārā and Sharafnāma.

(6) *The flight of Badī'u'z-zamān*. The Aḥsan does not give this prince's movements after his defeat. Qipchāq Khān says that he fled to Qandahār and then joined Nāṣir, Bābur's brother ; he was subsequently besieged in Ḥiṣār, fled to Yazd, was again defeated by an Uzbek force sent after him, and took refuge with Shāh Ismā'il.

(7) *Qunqurāt*. The Qunqurāts were a Turkish tribe, members of which frequently married into the family of the Ilkhāns of Persia. (See Howorth, Part II, pp. 278, 388, and elsewhere.) There were "six tribes who formed a confederacy under the name of Kunkurat. They were of Turkī origin, and inhabited the north of Mongolia" (Elias' Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī, p. 16, note). The MSS. spell the word variously.

(8) *Yaqa Turkmāns*, the Turkmāns of the coast, i.e. south-east of the Caspian.

(9) *Rādkān*. For a description and history of Rādkān, see Yate's Khurasan and Sistan, p. 362. It is shown on Curzon's map half way between Mashhad and Qūchān (Khabushān). It was the birth-place of Nizāmu'l-mulk, the famous Wazīr of Malikshāh the Saljūq.

## 915 A.H.

(1) *Shābirān*. "Ville du district d'Erran—à 20 farsakhs environ de Derhend...et à trois journées de Schirwan" (Barbier de Meynard, p. 338). It is mentioned in the *Zafarnāma* (Vol. I, p. 782).

(2) *Darband*, in the north of Shīrwān on the Caspian Sea; known also as Bābu'l-ahwāb. See *Nuzhatu'l-qulūb*, Le Strange's translation, p. 93.

(3) *Tabarsarān*. Barbier de Meynard (*Dict. géographique*) quoting Al-Mukri's *Tuḥfatu'l-albāb* says that it is the name of a tribe (nation) living on the frontiers of Darband. In Hellert's map it is shown as about ten miles north of the Kūr river, not far from its (former) junction with the Aras.

(4) *Bū Turāb*, i.e. 'Alī, the Prophet's nephew and son-in-law.

(5) *Hazāra and Nikūdārī tribes*. See *Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī*, Introduction, p. 80. The Hazāras of Afghānistān are said still to be "Mongol in feature, and to be descended from the remnants of the army of Nikudar Oghlān, a son of Hulaku, who invaded the region in which they dwell now, about the latter half of the thirteenth century". It may be noted that the name here is clearly Nikūdārī, not Takūdārī. The Nikūdār referred to is said (see Browne, Vol. III, p. 26) to be more correctly called Takūdār; he succeeded Abāqā and was the first Īlkhān to be converted to Islam as Sulṭān Aḥmad. As a child he was baptized with the name of Nicholas. (See the quotation from Haithon given by Blochet, *Gibb Mem. Series*, Vol. XII, p. 229, and Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 427). Chaghatāy also had a son called Nikūdār. Other accounts say the Hazāras were descendants of military colonists introduced by Chingiz Khān.

(6) *Qāzī Muḥammad Kāshānī*. According to the Ḥabību's-siyar Qāzī Muḥammad accused Najmu'd-dīn of taking bribes. Ismā'īl told Najmu'd-dīn of these charges and handed Qāzī Muḥammad over to him, with the result that he was put to death, and Amīr Sharifu'd-dīn (who was a descendant of Amīr Sayyid Sharif Jurjānī) was made Ṣadr in his place. The *Jahān Ārā* merely states that Qāzī Muḥammad had also incurred the enmity of Amīr Najm, which was an additional reason for his disgrace.

(7) *The fort of Kalāt*. For Kalāt and its history, see the detailed account in Curzon's *Persia*, Vol. I, pp. 126-140. See also Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 395.

## 916 A.H.

(1) *Sent Ismā'īl a letter*. The *Jahān Ārā* says that Ismā'īl sent a message to Shaybak Khān calling on him to desist from his evil ways, and that Shaybak Khān sent a rough reply by Amīr Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥusayn

of Abiward. The Ta'rikh-i-'Ālam-Ārāy-i-'Abbāsī says that Shaybak wrote to Ismā'il saying that he was going to Mecca, and would meet the Shāh in 'Irāq or Āzarbāyjān. The Shāh replied that he also was going on a pilgrimage, and would meet Shaybak at Mashhad. So, when Ismā'il could not get at Shaybak Khān at Marv, he sent to him, saying that he had fulfilled his promise to come to Mashhad, but Shaybak had broken his. Certain events obliged him to return to Āzarbāyjān; perhaps Shaybak would now carry out his promise and come and meet him there. The Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī gives a more entertaining account of this correspondence (pp. 232, 233).

(2) *Qand-i-Bādām*. So, and Qayd, in the MSS. It must be Kand-i-bādām near Khujand. Its exact distance from Khujand appears doubtful. Bābur says it was five or six yighāch (leagues) east of Khujand (Bāburnāma, p. 8). Le Strange (Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 479) says it was an outer suburb of Kand, itself a suburb of Khujand, one league south. The present Kand-i-bādām (or Kan-i-bādām) is forty miles (Barthold, Turkestan, p. 157) from Khujand. Schuyler (Turkistan, Vol. II, p. 3, and map in Vol. I) makes it about 45 miles east of Khujand, and 32 S.W. of Khokand. Kand=village. *Şayrān*—see below, note (12); *Sayrām*, note (12).

(3) *The battle*. The date, according to this account (also the Sharaf-nāma and the Ḥabibu's-siyar) was Friday, 1 Ramaẓān; Ismā'il left Marv on his feigned flight on Wednesday, 28 Sha'bān. The Jahān Ārā says Ismā'il left Marv Thursday, 27 Sha'bān; the Lubbu't-tawārikh makes Shaybak Khān leave Marv, and be defeated, Friday, 26 Sha'bān. The Ta'rikh-i-Qipchāqkhānī says it was "in Ramaẓān". The Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī says on the "Rūz-i-Shak of Ramaẓān", i.e. the day when it was doubtful whether it was Sha'bān or Ramaẓān. Thus Mrs. Beveridge (Bāburnāma, p. 350) accepts 29 Sha'bān—Friday, December 2nd, 1510 A.D.

(4) *With a vast host*. 15,000 according to the Jahān Ārā; 20,000 in the Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī.

(5) *The Ghāzis came round about it*. The Jahān Ārā says that Burūn Sulṭān Takalū was the leading Chief in this attack.

(6) *Māmūsh*. The MSS. have Māmūsh and Nānūsh; the meaning is unknown to me.

(7) *Marched on Herāt*. After the battle Ismā'il caused Faṭḥnāmas to be sent out. That for Herāt was taken by one Qulī Beg, an officer under Najm-i-Şānī. Qulī Beg was met outside Herāt by the leading men. There was a riot, in which nearly one hundred persons were killed. Qulī Beg then entered the city, delivered the Faṭḥnāma, and went to the Jāmi' Masjid. In the mosque Ḥāfiẓ Zaynu'd-dīn refused to curse the first Khalīfas, and was shot by Qulī Beg. Later, Amīr

Najm-i-Šānī and Khwāja Kamālu'd-dīn Maḥmūd arrived, and still later the Shāh. Ismā'il held a great Darbar, receiving pīshkash from his officers and others, all of which he divided among the qūrčīs. (Ḥabību's-siyar).

(8) *Īl Pārs Khān*. This Chief was descended from the Fūlād Ūghalan, whose name we find in Shaybak Khān's pedigree (grandfather of Abū'l-Khayr). His father was Adrāfa bin Yādgār (see genealogical tree). The Jahān Ārā says he gave Khwārazm to Kupuk Beg Qūshjī as Dārōgha. Īl Pārs died in 923 A.H. For further history of Khwārazm, see note on A.H. 944 (7).

(9) *Khān Mīrzā* was a double cousin of Bābur; their fathers were brothers, and their mothers sisters.—Maḥmūd and 'Umar Shekh, sons of Sulṭān Abū Sa'id, and Sulṭān Nigār and Qutlūq Nigār, daughters of Yūnus Khān.

(10) *Kūy*. The Sharafnāma and other histories, followed by Hammer-Purgstall, say the fight was at Chorli (Tzurulum) near Durazzo. Among the places enumerated as taken by Sulṭān Murād (p. 200 of this Chronicle) we have Sulṭān Kūyī, which is probably Chorlī. If this be so, Kūy may be correct and be another name for Chorlī.

(11) *Shaybak Khān* (Abū'l-faṭḥ Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī). From a comparison of various MSS. of the Aḥsan, Jahān Ārā, and Sharafnāma, I think that Taghtay should be Būqiyā. Shaybak's descent is given in the Jahān Ārā and Sharafnāma in the same way as in the Aḥsan. Up to Fūlād all authors agree, and also Shaybān bin Jūjī bin Chingiz Khān. Between Fūlād and Shaybān there is disagreement. The Ta'rikh-i-Qipchāqkhānī reads:—Fūlād bin Manak Timūr bin Aydal Ūghalan bin Jūjī Būqā Khān bin Pisūqā Baynal Bahādur bin Shaybān. The Ta'rikh-i-badī'a has:—Pūlād bin Mangū Timūr bin Yādāwal bin Jūjī Būqā bin Bahādur bin Shaybān. Howorth:—Fūlād bin Ming Timūr bin Badakūl bin Jūjī Buqā bin Bahādur bin Shaybān. Lane-Poole:—Pūlād bin Mangu Timūr bin Badakūl bin Jūjī Buqā bin Bahādur bin Shaybān. The Aḥsan, Jahān Ārā, and Sharafnāma, have:—Fūlād bin Ayba Khwāja bin Būqūjā bin Balaghan bin Shaybān. They therefore omit a person variously called in the rest Aydal, Yādāwal, Badakul—supposing that Ayba Khwāja is another name for Mangū Timūr. The Ḥabību's-siyar and Lubbu't-tawārikh do not give the genealogy in full. For the history of Qāsim Khān consult Howorth, Part II, Division II, Ch. IX. Burāq of the White Horde had, he says, two sons, Girāy and Jānī Beg. Parandūq was the son of Girāy, and Īranjī the son of Jānī Beg and brother of Qāsim. The Aḥsan, however, makes Qāsim son of Saydak Khān bin Jānī Beg. (See below under 929 A.H.). When Shaybak was defeated by Qāsim, not long before his death, Parandūq was still de jure ruler of the Plain, but the real power was in the hands of Qāsim. Parandūq was eventually expelled by

Qāsim and died in exile at Samarqand. How Īranjī was supplanted by Qāsim is not clear.

Qipchāq Khān says that Abū'l-Khayr nicknamed his grandson Shāh Bakht, which may be the origin of the name Shaybak, rather than Shāhī Beg. He was born in 855 A.H. Abū'l-Khayr died in 873 or 874 A.H.

Qūzī Begam is mentioned in several histories as the mother of Shaybak Khān. The Ta'rikh-i-Qipchāqkhānī says Shaybak's father, Shāh Būdāq, married the daughter of the King of Khatāy—presumably Qūzī Begam.

(12) *Ṣayrān* is mentioned several times in the *Zafarnāma* as near *Signnāq*, *Yasī*, *Qarachūq*, and *Uṭrār*. In the usual geographical authorities available I do not find it mentioned. Instead of *Ṣayrān* in some places the MSS. of the *Aḥsan* read *Ṣabrān* which seems to me to be the same place. *Ṣabrān*, or *Sawrān*, is dealt with by Barthold (*Turkestan*, p. 177), and the traveller P. Lerch says it was 50 versts (35 miles) north of the present city of *Turkestan* (Russian *Turkestan*, 1872, p. 5 of the translation made for the Indian Government). It is shown on the map made by General Walker from British and Russian surveys and published by the Government of India about 67° 50' E. by 43° 10' N. See, also, Schuyler's *Turkistān*, Vol. I, p. 68, and map after p. 355. *Ṣayrān* must be distinguished from *Sayrām*—formerly *Isbijāb*—shown in the above map about 69° 45' E. by 42° 20' N., and 8 miles east of *Chimkind*. *Uṭrār* was a few miles east of the *Jaxartes*—76 legal farsakhs from *Samarqand* (*Zafarnāma*, Vol. II, p. 653). Here were murdered the Mongol merchants—an outrage which launched Chingiz Khān against the Moslem world. Here, later (807 A.H.), died *Timūr*. *Uṭrār*—or *Utrār*—was formerly known as *Fārāb* (*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 485).

(13) 'Abdu'l-'Alī *Tarkhān*. He was the father of the Muḥammad Bāqī *Tarkhān* who was defeated by Shaybak Khān at *Dabūsī*. See *Bāburnāma*, p. 38. *Bābur* writes:—"This same 'Abdu'l-'Alī *Tarkhān* was the cause of *Shaibānī Khān*'s rise to such a height and of the downfall of such ancient dynasties".

(14) *Mīr 'Abdu'l-karīm*. See note on A.H. 924 (1).

(15) *The Shekhu'l-Islām of Herāt*. This was *Farīdu'd-dīn Aḥmad bin Yahyā bin Muḥammad bin Sa'du'd-dīn Taftāzānī*, who was killed for being a *Sunni* (*Jahān Ārā*—براسته مخالفت مذهب). The *Jahān Ārā* however, gives his name as *Sayfu'd-dīn Aḥmad*. The author of the *Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī*, who was a *Sunni*, gives a detailed account of the murder, saying that *Shāh Ismā'il* himself shot him with an arrow after an altercation, and then ordered him to be hanged and burnt (p. 235). For *Sa'du'd-dīn* see *Browne*, Vol. III, p. 353; *Taftāzān* was near *Nisā*—see *Farhang-i-Nāṣirī* under *Nisā*.

## 917 A.H.

(1) *Andikhūy* is more commonly *Andikhū* or *Andikhūd*, a town under Balkh.

(2) *Bish Barmāq* (five fingers). There may be several villages of this name. Charmoy mentions one between Shīrāz and Kirmān—and this must be the Panj Angusht which was the scene of a battle in 753 A.H. between Abū Ishāq's soldiers and those of Shāh Muẓaffar bin Mubārizu'd-dīn Muḥammad. The one here intended must be between Sāwa and Sultāniyya.

(3) *Mantashā*, a district of South-East Asia Minor, conquered by the Turks in the reign of Murād II.

(4) *Karmiyān*, a principality in Asia Minor near Brūsa. Murād I obtained the daughter of its prince for his son Ildarim Bāyazīd, and with her he obtained control over the Karmiyān territory, included in which was the important town of Kūtāhiya.

(5) *Qarāmān*, the ancient Laranda, the Capital of the Qarāmāniya district in the south of Asia Minor. The last independent Ruler of Qarāmān was Qāsim Beg bin Shīr 'Alī. The Turks took the country in 887 A.H. (Jahān Ārā).

(6) *Khādīm 'Alī Pāshā*. The Grand Wazīr 'Alī was an eunuch, and a writer, and the conqueror of Korone and Methone. To him was dedicated Mawlānā Idrīs' Hasht Bihisht.

(7) *Put their chiefs to death*. Hammer-Purgstall states that Ismā'il had the two chiefs thrown into cauldrons of boiling water; also that among those killed in the caravan was Shekh Ibrāhīm Shabistārī.

(8) *Bābur Pādshāh marched*. There is a lacuna in the Bāburnāma covering many years. R. S. Poole (Coins of the Shahs of Persia) explains this lacuna as due to Bābur's reluctance to mention his having been a Persian vassal and having struck coins and read the Khuṭba in Ismā'il's name. This view has not commended itself to other scholars; the lacuna must be due to other causes. Mirzā Ḥaydar in the Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī gives an account of Bābur's doings. He received a letter at Kābul from Khān Mirzā, and set out, in Ramaẓān 916 A.H., for Qunduz, where he found Khān Mirzā. The two marched on Ḥiṣār, where the Ruler was Ḥamza Sultān bin Bakhtiyār Sultān. Ḥamza Sultān left Ḥiṣār for Wakhsh. Near Wakhsh they met, but separated without fighting; Bābur returned to Qunduz, and Ḥamza to Ḥiṣār. At Qunduz Bābur found an envoy from Shāh Ismā'il and his sister Khānzāda Begam, who had been captured from the Uzbeks by the Persians and was now sent back to her brother; it will be remembered that she was taken by Shaybak Khān when Bābur fled from Samarqand in 907 A.H. Bābur sent Khān Mirzā to the Shāh with gifts and an application for support. Khān Mirzā returned with some Persian forces; and Bābur set out for Ḥiṣār, and

met the Uzbeks at Pul-i-sangin—on the Surkhāb river. Ḥamza and Mahdī Sulṭān were captured and put to death by Bābur. Further Persian help arrived, and the allies assembled at Ḥiṣār, and entered first Bukhārā and then Samarqand. From Bukhārā, or Samarqand, Bābur sent back his Persian allies.

(9) *Shāh Qulī Bābā*. This person was nicknamed by the Turks Shaytān Qulī. Malcolm appears to be in error in thinking that this name was given to Shāh Ismā'il.

## 918 A.H.

(1) *Bābur's war with 'Ubayd Khān*. This, of course, comes into the big lacuna in the Bāburnāma. Mrs. Beveridge (Bāburnāma, p. 356, et seq.) gives a sketch of the history of the campaign from the Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī and the Ḥabibu's-siyar, which may be compared with the Aḥsan. Clearly the Aḥsan is largely based on Khwāndamīr's work.

(2) *Jānī Beg* was son of Khwāja Muḥammad bin Abū'l-Khayr. Hammer-Purgstall says he was the son of Kodjūm bin Abu'l-Khair. Qipchāq Khān strangely makes him son of Maḥmūd, the brother of Shaybak Khān.

(3) *Chaghatāy*. Bābur's army is generally called the Chaghatāys in this and other chronicles of the time. Chaghatāy was the second son of Chingīz Khān. For a discussion of the use of the term Chaghatāy see Elias' Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī, Section II of the Introduction.

(4) *Amīr Muḥammad of Shīrāz*, i.e. Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Amīr Yūsuf (see later note).

(5) *Darband-i-Āhinān*. Vide note on p. 20 of Elias' Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī—also Quhlūghā, the pass, as it is generally called in the Zafarnāma. It is shown in modern maps as Derbent. Apparently there were really gates "clamped with iron" in the old days.

(6) *The fort*. This is Khuzār—as is stated in the Sharafnāma; there is an omission of the name in our text owing to a copyist's error. Mrs. Beveridge gives a résumé of the events of this period from the Ḥabibu's-siyar and Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī (Bāburnāma, p. 349, et seq.).

(7) *Shekham Mīrzā*, was uncle of 'Ubayd Khān (Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī). *Qarshī*—formerly Nakhshab, whence arose Al-Muqanna' the "Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān". Vide Browne, Vol. I, p. 319. In the Zafarnāma (Vol. I, p. 111), I find:—

سبب اشتہار آن شهر بقرشی آن شد کہ کبک خان در دوفرسخی نسق و نخشب  
قصری بنا نمود و مغول قصر را قرشی خوانند

Al-Ghaffārī in a note to his Nigāristān says the same thing, but calls the building a کوشک.

(8) *Ghujduwān*, a town six leagues from Bukhārā. The district is one of the seven tūmāns into which the present territory of Bukhārā is divided (Mir Izzatūllāh's Travels in Central Asia, p. 61).

(9) *But Bābur set out for Ḥiṣār Shādmān*. Bābur is supposed by many authors to have failed Najm Beg, and taken no part in the battle. The Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi says "The Emperor (i.e. Bābur) retired, broken and crestfallen, to Ḥiṣār" (p. 261).

(10) *The fort of Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn*. This fort, situated on the north of the town of Herāt, is mentioned in most descriptions of Herāt, but without its history. Thus in the Rawẓatu'l-jannāt of Mu'īnu'd-dīn Muḥammad (written 897 A.H., and dedicated to Sulṭān Ḥusayn) there is a long and fanciful description, but nothing really informing. Howorth mentions the fort in connection with operations in 1381 A.D. See also the Zafarnāma, Vol. I, p. 354 (784 A.H.). This fort must be the strong fort formerly called Shamirān, built on the site of an older fire temple. (Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 409.)

(11) *Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa's war*. This campaign is not mentioned by Malcolm or by Browne. It is mentioned shortly in the Sharafnāma, but with no details or reasons for it.

(12) *Qarā Ḥiṣār*. This must be Qarā Ḥiṣār Sharqī, about 90 miles S.W. of Trebizond.

(13) *Tūqāt; Nikshahr* (Niksar); are towns S.E. and E. of Amāsia and N. of Siwās. Tuqāt is described by the French traveller André Daulier-Deslandes in the middle of the seventeenth century as "a large town, scarcely smaller than Lyons, and almost as important commercially". The well-known missionary Henry Martyn was buried at Tūqāt.

(14) *Murād* was the son of Aḥmad and grandson of Bāyazīd—probably the omission of the words 'bin Aḥmad' is a copyist's mistake.

(15) *Jāmī'i Silsilatu'z-zahab*, was dedicated to Sulṭān Ḥusayn of Herāt. See Browne, Vol. III, p. 516.

(16) *Bannā'i*. This poet is mentioned in most of the Tazkiras, e.g. the Safina; also by Bābur (Bāburnāma, p. 286) with interesting details. He was born at Herāt, was a pupil of Muhammad Yahyā bin 'Ubaydul-lāh and appears to have been forced to leave Herāt owing to the jealousy of Mīr 'Alī Shīr and to quarrels with people there, as he says in his Maḡnawī named Bāgh-i-Iram, which he wrote under the takhalluṣ of Ḥālī:—

هر طرف از وطن گریختمی      همچو جان از بدن گسیختمی  
چه کنم حاسدان خون آشام      قصد من کرده از سحر تا شام

919 A.H.

(1) *Karmanīya* (Karmina), Jānī Beg's appanage, between Bukhārā and Samarqand.



(2) *Kālpūsh*, on a southern tributary of the river Gurgān (long. 56°).

(3) *Khabūshān*—modern Qūchān, vide Curzon's Persia, Vol. I, p. 97, et seq. and Yate's Khurasan and Sistan, ch. XII.

(4) *Shāh Rukh Beg Afshār's expedition*. According to the Ḥabibu's-siyar Shujā' Beg, the son of Amīr Zu'n-nūn, had attended the Shāh at Herāt after the battle of Maḥmūdī. He was subsequently imprisoned by Ḥusayn Beg Lala in the fort of Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn, but, through the collusion of his guards, he escaped and fled to Qandahār. Shāh Rukh Beg Afshār was at this time sent after him to Qandahār, and pursued him as far as Shāl and Mastung, which he plundered, and then returned to the Court.

(5) *Sultān Sulaymān* must be the Sulaymān mentioned early in this chronicle as one of the (half) brothers of Ismā'il.

(6) *Shumb-i-Ghāzān* (Ghāzān's dome). The Mongol Ilkhān Arghūn built a palace in the meadows two miles south of Tabrīz. His son, Ghāzān, was buried there in a mausoleum built by himself "in the gardens of Aadaliya, whose ruins still form the most precious monument at Tabriz" (Howorth, Part III, p. 421). Howorth quotes a curious derivation—the "Damascus (Shām) of Ghazan". The spelling "Shumb" is that given by Rīzā Qulī Khān in his Farhang-i-Nāṣiri. (شنب بر وزن خذب یعنی خم بمعنی گنبد است)

(7) *Tahmūraṣ*. The Shāhnāma describes the demons teaching the art of writing to King Tahmūraṣ thus:—

نوشتن بخسرو بیاموختند دلش را بدانش بر انروختند  
نوشتن یکی نه که نزدیک می چه رومی چه تازی و چه پارسی

(8) *Kinds of writing*. In the list there is a mixture of scripts and of varieties of the same script. For هندسه J. reads هندی, and I have translated Hindi, thinking that J. probably has the correct reading. In the Āyīn-i-Akbarī (Gladwin's translation, p. 111) the kinds of writing given are:—Syrian, Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, Maakely, Kufi, Kashmiri, Ethiopian, Ryhany, Arabic, Persian, Roman, Hymery, Barbary, etc. The original Arabic is stated to have been Ma'qilī (معلی) which is composed of straight lines only, and is said to have been invented by the Prophet Idrīs (Enoch). The Āyīn says that inscriptions on ancient buildings are mostly in this character. I am not sure of the vocalization of this word, nor as to the character itself; possibly it is Sabaeen, and perhaps, it is called Ma'qilī because used on forts (مقل). From it Kūfī was developed, they say, in the days of the Ummayyads. Kūfī has five-sixths straight lines and one-sixth curved. From these two were derived what are considered the six main varieties of Arabic script, viz.:—Ṣulṣ, with Naskh; Tauqī', with Riqā'; Muhaqqaq, with Rayḥān.

Specimens of many of these scripts can be seen in No. 29 of the Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India (Specimens of Calligraphy in the Delhi Museum of Archæology, by Khān Sāhib Maulvī Zafar Ḥasan. In describing a script it is said to be so many dāngs (sixths) straight line (سطح), and so many rounded or curved (دور). Thus the Qawānīn-i-Khutūt says:—در قلم محقق یک دانگ و نیم دور و چهار دانگ و نیم سطح در and خط ثلث دو دانگ دور و چهار دانگ سطح در توقيع و رقاع نصفی دور و نصفی سطح در علم خط Mawlānā Majnūn bin Muḥammad Rafiqī in his short work written about 950 A.H., says of Ma'qilī:—مجموع آن سطح است. Ṣulṣ is supposed to have been invented by Ibn Muqla, and there is a saying:—قلم الثلث ام الخطوط والمحقق ابوها

(9) *Ibn Muqla*. Abū 'Alī Muḥammad bin 'Alī Ibn Muqla was the Wazīr of the 'Abbāsīd Khalīfa Al-Muqtadir b'illāh (295–320 A.H.). When Muqtadir was killed and Qāhir b'illāh took his place, Ibn Muqla was called and made Wazīr; and he continued as Wazīr under Rāzī b'illāh (322 A.H.). According to the Qawānīn-i-Khutūt, by Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad (circ. 970 A.H.; Bodleian MS.), owing to a quarrel between Ibn Muqla and Ibn Rābiq, who had superseded Ibn Muqla as Wazīr of the Khalīfa Rāzī, the Khalīfa sent an order that Ibn Muqla's hand should be cut off, but afterwards repented and sent his own surgeon to attend to the wound. When the wound was healed Ibn Muqla tied his pen to his wrist, and wrote asking for the Wazīrship again. Ibn Rābiq ordered his tongue to be cut out, and put him in prison, where he died in 328 A.H. He was born in 272 A.H., and it was said that he was three times Wazīr, wrote three Qurāns, and was three times buried.

(10) *The sixth volume*. This is one of the references showing the existence of other works by Ḥasan.

(11) *Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Hilāl* known as *Ibn Bawwāb* (d. 423 A.H., or, as some say, 413 A.H.).

(12) *Yāqūt*—Jamālū'd-dīn Yāqūt bin 'Abdullāh ar-Rūmī al-Musta'şimī, slave of the last Khalīfa of Baghdād (d. 697 A.H. or 698 A.H., Browne, Vol. II, p. 487; Tazkira-i-Khushnawīsān, p. 24).

(13) *Shekhzāda Suhrawardī*—Aḥmad bin al-Suhrawardī (7th century A.H.).

(14) *'Abdullāh Arghūn*—mentioned in the Tazkira-i-Khushnawīsān (p. 24), but without details. Many of the other names given here are also to be found in various Tazkiras, but also without details. For Sūltān Uways see Dawlatshāh, p. 262. Khwāja 'Abdullāh as-Şīrafī was a penman of Abū Sa'īd Khudābanda.

(15) *Ḥājī Muḥammad Banddūz*. Perhaps this is the Khwāja Ḥājī Muḥammad Bandgīr Khaṭṭāt who is mentioned in the Zafarnāma as

one of the Tabriz leaders who went out to meet Timūr at Shumb-i-Ghāzān in 788 A.H.

(16) *Mīr 'Alī Tabrizī*. This writer is to be distinguished from Mīr 'Alī Hirawī, who is mentioned below. He is often said to have invented Nasta'liq; Mawlānā Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī is quoted in the Ta'rīkh-i-badī'a (the author of which is unknown, but was a descendant of the Astrakhān prince who fled for refuge to Iskandar bin Jānī Beg Uzbek; Bodleian MS. Ouseley, 269) as follows:—

نسخ تعلیق آنکه خفی و جلی است      واضع الاصل خواجه میر علی است  
 تا که بوده است عالم و آدم      هرگز این خط نبود در عالم  
 وضع فرموده او ز ذهن دقیق      از خط نسخ و از خط تعلیق  
 نی کلکش ازان شکر ریز است      کاملش از خاک پاک تبریز است

But, as many authors have pointed out, Nasta'liq is older than Mīr 'Alī Tabrizī, who appears to have died shortly after 800 A.H. Mawlānā Ja'far and Mawlānā Aẓhar were his pupils.

(17) *Mawlānā* (or *Mullā*) *Mīr 'Alī al-Kātib*, a Sayyid of Herāt, the date of whose death is variously given as 924 A.H., 950 A.H., etc.

He is stated in the Ta'rīkh-i-badī'a to have taught Nasta'liq to 'Ubayd Khān, and the Tazkira-i-Khushnawisān says that he was much with 'Abdullāh Khān Uzbek at Bukhārā (if so, we must probably put his death fairly late). This latter work says that Mīr 'Alī, when asked how his writing compared with that of Sultān 'Alī, replied:—

هر چند خط من از خط سلطان علی فایق است لیکن آن نمکی که خط او دارد در خط  
 من نیست

(18) *Mawlānā Sultān 'Alī* is mentioned in all works dealing with calligraphy. The Ta'rīkh-i-badī'a says he was a pupil of Mawlānā Aẓhar. There were several other Sultān 'Alīs—one of whom is mentioned above in the text—but this Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī was by far the most famous. Like most men of letters he wrote poetry, lines by him being quoted in the Ḥabību's-siyar.

(19) *Mawlānā Ja'far*—a calligraphist of Bāysunqur bin Shāh Rukh bin Timūr, working at Astarābād. See Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne), p. 350.

## 920 A.H.

(1) *The war...with Sultān Salīm*. Consult Hammer-Purgstall and other histories for this campaign and the battle of Chāldirān. Ḥasan's account is picturesque, but does not give us much real information. The Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī says the Turkish army was several hundred thousand men while the Shāh had only 30,000.

(2) *The beginning of Rajab*. The Jahān Ārā says on 2nd Rajab.

(3) *The Shāh marched to Darjuzīn.* The Sharafnāma (whose author wrote in the safe retreat of Bitlis) bluntly says that Ismā'il fled without drawing rein till he reached Darjuzīn and Hamadān. Question has been raised as to whether Ismā'il was personally present at the battle of Chāldirān at all. The Jahān Ārā says he went off quail shooting before the battle (بنفس نفیس به شکار بلدرچین مشغول شد). But this does not mean that he was not present when the battle began. Whatever other failings Ismā'il had, he was no coward. Hammer-Purgstall says he was wounded in the battle in the arms and feet. Darjuzīn, or Darguzīn, is shown in Curzon's map about 55 miles N.W. of Hamadān. It is mentioned in the Nuzhatu'l-qulūb as being formerly in the A'lam, or fourth, district under Hamadān. Sārū Pīra Qūrchibāshī, mentioned among the Persian chiefs killed, was elder brother of Mantashā Sultān (Jahān Ārā). Hammer-Purgstall states that the Shāh's favourite wife was captured at Chāldirān, and that he sent envoys to the Sultān at Amāsia, but the envoys were arrested, and the Shāh's wife was given to Tājzāda Ja'far Chalabī. Browne (Vol. IV, p. 77) says that Ismā'il sent a very polite and apologetic letter to Salīm, who vouchsafed no reply. It seems clear that the proud Persian monarch was humbled and mortified beyond measure by his defeat. Malcolm says "he was never afterwards seen to smile". It appears doubtful whether the statement of the Ḥabību's-siyar can be believed—that Ismā'il, seeing that further fighting only meant the destruction of his men, decided to withdraw from Chāldirān, meaning to attack again if the Turks pursued.

(4) *Badī'u'z-zamān.* Erskine (quoted by Mrs. Beveridge, Bābur-nāma, p. 327, note) says he was taken prisoner and carried to Constantinople, where he died in 923 A.H. But this is not in accordance with my authorities. The Jahān Ārā says he died after four months.

(5) *Shāh Nūru'd-dīn Ni'matullāh.* For an account of this saint see Browne, Vol. III, p. 463; also in "A Year amongst the Persians".

(6) *Khalīl Sultān Zu'l-Qadar.* His name was Ummat Beg (Jahān Ārā). Both Jahān Ārā and Sharafnāma place his death in 926 A.H.; the former gives the chronogram: حیف از سلطان خلیل. This later date is accepted by Mirzā Furṣat in his Āḡār-i-'Ajam—Khalīl's governorship of Shīrāz began in 911 A.H., and ended 926 A.H., when his successor, 'Alī Sultān Chanchaklū Zu'l-Qadar was appointed. Nevertheless it seems improbable that Ismā'il would postpone punishment for cowardice, or treachery, for six years, and perhaps the Aḥsan is right. The Ḥabību's-siyar says that Khalīl had held himself aloof from the fight at Chāldirān, in spite of a message from the Shāh.

## 921 A.H.

(1) *Kamākh.*—"A castle with a small town lying below it" (Le Strange, Nuzhatu'l-qulūb, p. 98): "une bourgade florissante sur

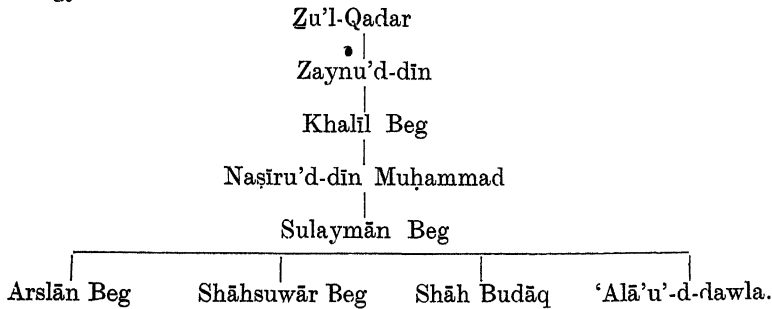
l'-Euphrate" (Charmoy). In Timūr's ultimatum to Bāyazid of Turkey one of the demands was the surrender of Kamākh.

(2) *Muṣṭafā Pāshā Bighlū Chāūsh*. The Sharafnāma calls him Muḥammad Āghā Chāūshbāshī. Hammer-Purgstall says Muḥammad Pāshā, Governor of Arzinjān. The Jahān Ārā gives his name as Muṣṭafā Pāshā. (Bighlū = moustached.)

(3) *Chamishguzik*, a town in Armenia on the river Euphrates. The Sharafnāma says that Nūr'Alī Khalifa was killed in battle with Pīr Ḥusayn Beg, son of Hājī Rustam Beg, Kurdish Chief of Chamishguzik, before the arrival of Bighlū Chāūsh, at Takūr Yaylāqī (or Yākar Yaylāqī?).

(4) *Amīr Khān Turkmān*, i.e. Amīr Beg Mawṣilū, then made a Khān.

(5) *Four of them who ruled*. Hammer-Purgstall gives the following genealogy:—



The Sharafnāma says that Salīm gave 'Alā'u'd-dawla's place to 'Alī Beg bin Shāhsuwār Beg. 'Alī Beg was killed in 927 A.H. by Farhād Pāshā.

(6) *Khvāja Āṣafī* is mentioned by Khwāndamīr (Ḥabību's-siyar), but with little detail. But see Bāburnāma, p. 286 and note. The Haft Iqlīm puts the date of his death 923 A.H., the Ātash Kada 920 A.H.

Qūhistān was the province of Khurāsān south of Mashhad comprising Turshīz and its neighbouring districts. In the Rawṣatū'l-jannāt of Mu'īnu'd-dīn Muḥammad (897 A.H.) it is said to measure 400 farsakhs long by 400 broad, and from that to have been known as چہار صد قہستان. Qūhistān is the Arabicised form of Kūhistān, hill country.

(7) *Mawlānā Nizāmu'd-dīn* of Astarābād was a poet who dealt chiefly with the art of riddling. (Ḥabību's-siyar.)

(8) *Mawlānā Riyāzi*, is also mentioned by Khwāndamīr in his list of the learned men of Sulṭān Ḥusayn's Court. But he is said to have come from Zāwa (Turbat-i-Ḥaydarī) not Sāwa. Sāwa may be a mistake.

922 A.H.

(1) *Qarā Khān*, brother of Khān Muḥammad Ustājilū, who was killed at Chāldirān. He was given one of Ismā'il's sisters, and was the father of 'Abdullāh, who is frequently mentioned later on.

(2) *Quruq-i-sar-i-Mārdīn*.—Some meadow, game preserve, or camping ground, near Mārdīn, 50 miles or so S.E. of Diyārbakr.

(3) *Sultān Salīm's war with Qānṣū*. For this campaign, see Salmon's "Ottoman conquest of Egypt"—which is a translation of the chronicle of Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Iyās.

(4) *The Shrine of David*. See Salmon, p. 41. "The Sultān proceeded" (from Marj Dābiq) "to Zaghzaghun and Tell-al-Far, where the alleged tomb of the Prophet Da'ud is".

(5) *Qarācha Pāshā* was, according to the Sharafnāma, Mīr-i-mīrān of Aleppo at this time. He is mentioned among the Chiefs of Kilis.

(6) *It is a strange thing*. Khwāndamīr writes that, after capturing Aleppo Salīm marched to Egypt, and:—سلطان قنصو را که از دستبرد زمانه غدار غافل بود اسیر پنجه تقدیر ساخت و بتیغ بی مروت زندگانی او را انقطاع داد. That is to say Qānṣū was not killed at the battle of Marj Dābiq, but later on in Egypt. But it does not seem that Ḥasan quotes quite correctly.

(7) *Bahārlū*. This was one of the Black Sheep Turkmān tribes—the tribe to which belonged Bayrām Khān, Akbar's guardian.

(8) *The 'Akkāsha gate*. This is the MS. reading, and it may be correct, for Khwāja 'Akkāsha was a saint buried at Balkh (Zafarnāma, Vol. II. p. 210, l. 4). But it may be the Ākcha gate, which is the main gate on the west of Balkh city.

(9) *Georgia*. The Aḥsan always writes of Gurjistān or Georgia, and does not distinguish between the various divisions of this country, which were at the time ruled by separate Chiefs. Further on we have a good deal to do with Georgian expeditions, and it is difficult to understand them without some explanation. The chief authority on Georgian history is Brosset, whose great French translation of the Georgian chronicles was published in 1849 A.D. and succeeding years under the name of "Histoire de la Géorgie". This immense work is somewhat difficult to use, and it has no map, nor does it always explain the locality of the innumerable places mentioned.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there were four Georgian districts—Karthli, Kakheti, Imereth, and Samtzkhe or Saatabagho. For, in 1445 A.D., King Alexander had divided his kingdom among his three sons, giving Karthli to Wakhtāng, Imereth to Dimitri, and Kakheti to Georgi; while the fourth province of Samtzkhe was often also independent.

Over *Karthli* (which is the central portion, and is supposed to be named from Karthlos, a descendant of the patriarch Japhet) reigned:—Daud VIII, 1505–1525; Louarsab I, (Lawāsān) 1534–1558; Simon I, 1558–1600 (with a nine years' interval when he was imprisoned at Alamūt).

The kings of *Kakheti* were :—Georgi II, 1511–1513 ; Daud of *Karthli*, 1513–1518 ; Lawan (Lawand, Léon, son of Georgi II), 1520–1574 ; Alexander, 1574–1605.

*Samtskhe* (the country of the Meskhes) was governed by Atābeks :—Kaykhusraw I, 1500–1502 ; Mzedchabuq, 1502–1516 ; Qurqura IV, 1516–1535 ; Kaykhusraw II (son of Qurqura), 1545–1573.

*Imereth* (imier=beyond, i.e. the country beyond Mt. Likh, Western Georgia) had :—Alexander II, 1478–1510 ; Bagrat III (Bāsh Āchūq, “uncovered head”), 1510–1548 ; Georgi II, 1548–1585 A.D.

Lawan of *Kakheti* kept on good terms with the Persians, and often assisted them. He died at an advanced age in 1574. His son 'Īsā married a daughter of Sām Mirzā. Similarly Kaykhusraw of *Samtskhe* was connected with the Persian Court, for, having no daughters of his own, he sent Shāh Tahmāsp the daughter of a near relation. And we frequently find him on the Persian side.

The *Imereth* Rulers have little to do with Persian history, but came into collision with the Turks. The Rulers of *Karthli* were constantly attacked by Shāh Tahmāsp ; Louarsab (Lawāsān) and his son Simon are prominent in that Shāh's Georgian wars.

There is much difficulty with the names of Georgian places. They look singularly uncouth. Put into Persian characters by a Turco-Persian writer, then copied by a scribe, who probably did not know them, they may easily assume forms which bear no resemblance whatever to Brosset's transcriptions in French—themselves often clumsy to English eyes.

(10) *Qurqura and Minūchihr*. Qurqura IV succeeded his father in 1516 (922-23 A.H.). But I find no Minūchihr mentioned in the chronicles at this time, and the facts are obscure to me. There may have been some fighting at the accession of Qurqura.

(11) *Charkan Hasan Takalū* was the father of Ghāzi Khān Takalū, who appears later in this history (Jahān Ārā).

(12) *Āq Shahr and Shūra Gil*.—Situated between Erivān and Qārs. Āq Shahr is naturally a common name (White City). The best known is N.W. of Qonia ; another—also well-known—between Siwās and Arzinjān.

(13) *Tumūk*. The MSS. are doubtful, but in the Jahān Ārā Tumūk is clear ; where exactly it is I do not know.

(14) ' *Abdullāh Marwārid*, see note on 906 A.H. (37).

(15) *Sulṭān Qānsū Ghūrī*. Hammer-Purgstall refers to one version which says that Qānsū died of apoplexy. But see Salmon's *Ottoman Conquest of Egypt*, p. 43. Qānsū was about 78 years of age. Regarding his name the form adopted by me is that commonly used, but, according to Sir Denison Ross, a Qurān, dedicated to him, and now preserved in the Royal Library at Cairo, shows that it should be

Qānsāūh al-Ghaurī. The list of the Egyptian Bahrī and Burjī Mamlūk Sultāns (648-922 A.H.) is of course very incomplete.

## 923 A.H.

(1) *The Mosque of the Banī Umayya*. This famous mosque is usually stated to have been originally the Church of St. John the Baptist, constructed by Arcadius on the site of the ancient temple of Damascus, and turned by the Khalifa Walid I into a mosque (86-96 A.H.). See Hughes' Dictionary of Islām (pp. 65-69). When Tīmūr took Damascus he tried to protect the mosque, but its eastern minaret was burnt (Zafarnāma, Vol. II, p. 340). The walls of the mosque were said to display not only Mecca and Medina but the towns of the whole world.

(2) *Tūmanī Beg*—Ashraf Abū'l-Naṣr Tūmān Beg. See p. 57, 70, etc. of Salmon's book. Muḥammad bin Aḥmad calls him a "kinsman" of Qānṣu Al-Ghūrī. According to this authority the account of Sinān Pāshā's death as given here is incorrect; he was killed in the battle outside Cairo; see Salmon, p. 112 ("a greater battle than that which took place in Merj Dābek").

(3) *Gharjistān*, a district between Herāt and Maymana, the first town from Herāt being Āq Gumbad (the White Dome). As observed in the notes on the text the MSS. read Ān Gumbad. Mrs. Beveridge, quoting the Ḥabību's-siyar calls Urdū Shāh "an envoy sent out to parley with" Muḥammad Zamān. Elsewhere Urdū Shāh is described as the Chief of Gharjistān. His ancestry and history are unknown to me.

(4) *Ibrāhīm Sultān*, a grandson of Ṣūfī Khalīl Turkumān (Qipchāq Khān).

(5) *Mughūl Qānchī* (or Qānjī). Both meaning and correct orthography are unknown to me. Possibly it is the name of a Mughal tribe. I find mention of a person in the Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī who was "an Amīr Tumān of the Kunji (clan)". Apparently the men spoken of were the Mughal contingent from Mughalistān.

## 924 A.H.

(1) *Dūrmish Khān*, the son of the 'Abdī Beg who was killed in the battle with Ṣārim Kurd. With him went Zaynal Khān, according to the Jahān Ārā—both were Shāmlū Chiefs, so they took Shāmlū troopers with them. Awlād and Kilīs were forts of Māzandarān, constructed by the Āghā Rustam Rūz Afzūn to whom Shāh Ismā'il sent the dead Shaybak Khān's hand. There is a detailed account of the doings of Māzandarān Chiefs in the writings of one Khwar Shāh bin Qubād al-Ḥusaynī. Khwar Shāh was an envoy sent by Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar, who became a Shī'a, and therefore sent a representative of Persia. Khwar Shāh spent many years in Persia, finally returning to India, where he died 972 A.H., at Golconda. His record is called



the Ta'rikh-i-Ilchī-i-Nizāmshāh, and is to be found in Schefer's Chrestomathie Persane, Vol. II. He says he was a friend of Āghā Muḥammad (Āghā Rustam's son), and saw many of the events he described. At all events he is a contemporary, and, so far as I can see, a careful writer.

Āghā Rustam was originally a noble of Sawātkū (Sawād Kūh) and became Ruler of Sārī. His chief rival was 'Abdu'l-karīm bin Amīr 'Abdullāh. On Āghā Rustam's death in 916 A.H., his two sons, Āghā Suhrāb and Āghā Muḥammad, were driven out of Sārī by 'Abdu'l-karīm and fled to Sawātkū. Āghā Suhrāb eventually made terms with 'Abdu'l-karīm and married his daughter and died. Choha Sultān had been sent by the Shāh to collect the Māzandarān tribute of 30,000 tūmāns (Khwāndamīr says 20,000), and he took Āghā Muḥammad and 'Abdu'l-karīm to Ismā'il. Ismā'il divided Māzandarān between the two—'Abdu'l-karīm to be at Bārfurūsh and Āghā Muḥammad at Sārī. But they remained rivals, and so the tribute was not paid. Then it was that Dūrmish Khān was sent to collect it. Later the two princes fought again. Āghā Muḥammad fled to Sawātkū and then to the Shāh at Tabriz. However, 'Abdu'l-karīm sent large presents to Mirzā Shāh Ḥusayn Iṣfahānī, the Wakil, and Āghā Muḥammad was imprisoned in Alanchiq fort, and the whole of Māzandarān given to 'Abdu'l-karīm. But on Ismā'il's death Choha Sultān, an old friend of Āghā Muḥammad, got Āghā Muḥammad released and restored to him half of Māzandarān. 'Abdu'l-karīm again attacked him; but he was unsuccessful, and died soon after, in 932 A.H., leaving three sons, the second of whom, Amīr Shāhī, eventually succeeded him. Amīr Shāhī was with Ṭahmāsp in his Khurāsān expedition, but on his return he was murdered near Samnān by men instigated by Āghā Muḥammad, who thereafter reigned alone in Māzandarān for fourteen years. In 952 A.H. Ṭahmāsp came to Firūzkūh en route for Māzandarān to punish the murderers of Amīr Shāhī. Āghā Muḥammad escaped by bribing Qāẓī-i-Jahān, but was fined 3,000 tūmāns; shortly after this, upset by the murder of one of his sons, he died, over 70 years of age. He was succeeded by his son Āghā Suhrāb, who was turned out by a certain Amīr 'Abdullāh, and the Rūz Afzūn dynasty ended. Khwar Shāh adds that 'Abdu'l-karīm was a friend of Shāh Ismā'il, and his comrade in drinking bouts, and in games of 'nard'—at which he lost and had to pay up his losses.

(2) *Amīra Dubbāj* was the son of Ḥusāmu'd-dīn bin Amīra Iṣhāq, and the Ruler of Bīya Pas or Resht. He rebelled, but was forgiven through the intercession of Kār Kiyā Sultān Aḥmad. He then came to Court, and was given Khayru'n-nissā Begam, Ismā'il's daughter, and styled Muẓaffar Sultān. The princess died in 938 A.H., and Muẓaffar was guilty of treachery in 940 A.H. by joining the Turks and going to Awjān to meet Sultān Sulaymān—with the result given under the year 942 A.H. (Vide 'Abdu'l-fattāh Fūmanī's Ta'rikh-i-Gilān, printed by

Dorn in his *Muhammedanische Quellen*, Vol. III, the *Sharafnāma*, and the *Ta'rikh-i-Ālam-Ārāy-i-Abbāsī*).

## 926 A.H.

(1) *Bābur marched to Qandahār*. There is a gap in the *Bāburnāma* from 926 to 932 A.H. Mrs. Beveridge discusses the history of the siege of Qandahār, using the *Ḥabibu's-siyar* and a history of Sind (see *Bāburnāma*, p. 430, etc.). Why Bābur attacked Shāh Shujā' Beg (son of Amīr Zu'n-nūn) is not clear. Amīr Khān's interference in the matter must have been checked by 'Ubayd Khān's attack on Herāt in 927 A.H. About the end of the siege, or not very long after it, Shāh Shujā' died; the year is not certain.

(2) *Died from plague*. The *Sharafnāma* says:—مرض آكله كه قسميست. از امراض طاعون و بين الناس مشهور است بشير پنجه. The same year as Sultān Salīm died Mawlānā Idrīs, the author of the *Hasht Bihisht*, also died. He had been made civil administrator of the Kurdish provinces taken by the Turks, and the arrangements he made lasted into quite modern times.

(3) *Kaffa*, i.e. Theodosia in the Crimea.

(4) *Amīnī*. For this poet see Browne, Vol. IV, p. 81.

## 927 A.H.

(1) *Chihil Dukhtarān* (the Forty Daughters) is a town in the Bādghīs district north of Herāt. There was another place of the same name close to Andijān.

(2) *Sāq-i-Salmān*. A suburb of Herāt. The *Bāburnāma* writes Sulaymān, but I have always seen in other authors, as here, Salmān. The Ravens' Garden in Herāt is attributed to Shāh Rukh and his wife Gohar Shād Begam. It was "situated outside the north-western angle of the walls of Herāt". (*Ta'rikh-i-Rashidī*, p. 83, note.)

(3) *Aleppo*, the ancient Khalybon, supposed to have been the abode of the prophet Khizr, and the place where Abraham milked his herds—I suppose owing to the name (حلب milk).

(4) *Ḥasan Beg*. See note on 930 A.H. (1). Dīv Sultān appears in the Georgian chronicles as Deval. He is said to have ruined Karthli and Samtzkhe; but the date given is 929 A.H. It is said that in 1518 A.D. (925 A.H.) Shāh Ismā'il marched against Karthli, but King Daud sent his son Ramaz with presents to the Shāh. Ramaz was honourably received and sent back, and Karthli was saved.

(5) *Khawāja Mawlānā-i-Iṣfahānī*. Sayyid Qiwāmu'd-dīn Ḥusayn Khawāja Iṣfahānī (*Ḥabibu's-siyar*—from which the details given are probably taken).

(6) *'Abdullāh Ḥātifi*. See Browne, Vol. IV, p. 227–229, for this poet. He went from Herāt to join Bābur at Qandahār (*Ḥabibu's-siyar*). Chronograms for his death quoted in the *Makhzanu'l-gharāib* are:—

شاعران, and شاعران. For remarks on his *Timūrnāma*, see Blochet, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols*, p. 108 (Gibb, *Mem. Series*, Vol. XII).

(7) *Amīr Sayyid Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Yūsuf bin Shamsu'd-dīn al-Ḥusaynī* was a patron of Khwāndamīr, and the details given by that author are therefore likely to be true. In his youth he was associated with Shekhu'l-Islām Aḥmad al-Taftāzānī, and taught in the Madrasa at Herāt, being patronized by Sultān Ḥusayn and his sons Badī'u'-z-zamān and Muẓaffar Ḥusayn. He was made Qāzī of Khurāsān by Ismā'il, and then Ṣadr and Amīr. It is easy to understand that this powerful individual fell out with Amīr Khān, Prince Ṭahmāsp's guardian and the virtual ruler of Khurāsān. Amīr Khān charged him—whether with truth or not—with partisanship for Bābur, and with designs for bringing Bābur from Kābul to Herāt. And on 6th Rajab Amīr Khān had the Sayyid arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn, and, the day after, put to death. Khwāndamīr says that Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn had meant to complain of Amīr Khān's neglect and the bad state into which he had brought Khurāsān. From the fort Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn wrote to Amīr Khān :—

بتیغ ظلم مرا میکشی و خراهی دید که عاقبت چه کند با تو خورن ناحق من

After this crime Amīr Khān was a good deal scared by the effect it produced on the various Chiefs. To support his charges he set out, saying he was going to Qandahār, i.e. against Bābur. Sām Mirzā and Dūrmish Khān were appointed to succeed Ṭahmāsp and Amīr Khān. However Dūrmish and Zaynal Khān sent Amīr Khān a friendly letter, and met him. Later Khizr Beg arrived with a letter containing the Shāh's order for Amīr Khān's supersession. Amīr Khān left for 'Irāq on 3rd Ṣafar 928, stayed a few days at Sāq-i-Salmān, and then, on the way to 'Irāq, fell sick, and could only travel two leagues a day in a litter. He died on 12th Sha'bān.

## 929 A.H.

(1) *Maqāl Matūrī*. I am unable to explain this name—unless it is a strange corruption of Grand Maître. The Governor of Rhodes was Villiers de l'Île-Adam, Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. Rhodes was taken by the Knights in 1309 A.D., and converted into a fortress for the protection of the southern seas against the Turks. An attack by Sultān Muḥammad II in 1480 A.D. was repulsed with heavy loss, but the present siege ended in the evacuation of the island by the Knights. (929 A.H., 1522 A.D.)

\*(2) *Niyāzī*. For the lines quoted see Browne, Vol. IV, p. 81. The dates given by the reading in the text are 926 and 940 A.H. The *Sharaf-nāma* gives another chronogram :—

پادشاه جهان سلیمان خان      که قوینش شده عیون اله  
 فتح ردوس چو کرد آن شه دین      کار کفار کرد جمله تباہ  
 گفت هاتف برای آن تاریخ      یفرح المومنون بنصر الله

which, at least, gives the correct date, 929 A.H.

(3) *Ummīdī*. Vide Browne, Vol. IV, p. 230. Ummīdī's death is mentioned by most authorities, e.g. by the Haft Iqlīm, Ātash Kada, Safina (by Khushgū, 1147 A.H.), Khazāna-i-Āmira (by Ghulām 'Alī Ḥusayn Wāsiṭi Bilgrāmi, 1176 A.H.). The murder went unpunished at the time owing to Shāh Ismā'il's death, but, later on, when Ṭahmāsp returned from Khurāsān in 944 A.H., he had Qiwāmu'd-din arrested and imprisoned, and brought Ummīdī's family to Qazwīn.

(4) *Qiwāmu'd-din Nūr Bakhsh*. See note on 944 A.H. (1).

(5) *The Qurchis*. See notes on the text.

(6) *Khawāja Jalālud-din Muḥammad* (Maḥmūd ?), entitled I'timādu'-d-dawla, was burnt to death next year (vide 930 A.H.).

### 930 A.H.

(1) *Hasan Beg* of Shakī and Shirwān is said by the Georgian chronicles to have made attacks on Kakheti. Lawān made overtures for peace, but, failing to secure it, marched against Shakī, overthrew and killed Ḥasan, and ravaged Shakī. The Georgian chronicler Wakhusht appears to put this event in 1547 A.D., but (if he is correctly represented) this is surely much too late. The Ta'rīkh-i-Ālam-Ārāy-i-'Abbāsī here, as elsewhere, follows the Aḥsan.

(2) *His Majesty fell ill*. The Sharafnāma says that Ismā'il went hunting wild horses. Qipchāq Khān says that Ismā'il fell ill because of the bad climate (تعفن هوا) of Shakī. Sarāb is on the Tabriz-Ardabil road, some 70 miles east of Tabriz; Sāyīn, a village to the west of Sarāb.

(3) *Chāyān Sultān* (the Scorpion). The Jahān Ārā and Sharafnāma put Chāyān Sultān's death in 929 A.H. He was buried at Baghdād, and succeeded by his son Bāyazīd, who, however, died in 930 A.H. On Bāyazīd's death Dīv Sultān Rūmlū became Amīru'l-umarā. Chāyān's brother, Muṣṭafā Sultān (Kupuk Sultān), and Dīv Sultān, became joint Wakils, and disputes between these two Chiefs led to the serious Ustājlu rebellion early in Ṭahmāsp's reign.

(4) *His age was thirty-eight years*. Shāh Ismā'il was born 25th Rajab 892 A.H.—thirty-eight lunar years, of course. For his descent vide remarks on the death of Ṭahmāsp (984 A.H. (10)). Ismā'il was a poet, with the pen-name of Khaṭā'i, but he wrote mostly in Turkish, though the Ātash Kada quotes a Persian line of his. It may here be remarked that, while Persian was used for literary efforts, and diplomatic correspondence between the Persian and Turkish Courts, both

Shāh and Sultān habitually spoke Turkish. Probably Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū, while he wrote Persian, spoke Turkish; so also did all the great military Chiefs. Thus the French traveller André Daulier-Deslandes writes of the time of Shāh 'Abbās, "The country has a language of its own, but at the Court and among educated people, they almost always speak Turkish". Nevertheless Shāh Ismā'il posed as a Persian, if we may judge from the fact that his children were given names famous in old Persian legend, e.g. Sām, the grandfather of Rustam, and Farangīs, the daughter of Afrāsiyāb.

(5) *Qāsim Khān*. Howorth makes Burāq of the White Horde have two sons Girāy and Jānī Beg, and makes Qāsim Khān, son of Jānī Beg; while the Aḥsan and Jahān Ārā say he was grandson. It will be remembered that Shaybak Khān's attack on Qāsim Khān in 915 A.H. was unsuccessful. His successor, Ḥaqq Naẓār Khān, is mentioned several times later on; he reigned in the Qipchāq Plain for more than forty years.

(6) *Shekh Shāh*. His name was Shekh Ibrāhīm (Ḥabību's-siyar).

(7) *Quatrains*. Practically the same verses are quoted as having been written for the death of 'Aṭā Malik-i-Juwaynī (author of the Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-gushā). See Browne, Vol. III, p. 66.

(8) *The brave Syrians*, i.e. the Shāmlūs; Dürmish Khān was the Shāmlū Chief.

### 931 A.H.

(1) *Lār*. This is, of course, not Lār near the Persian Gulf, but Lārijān, lying between Damavand and Firūzkūh, for which see Rabino's Māzandarān and Astarābād, pp. 40 and 114 (Gibb. Memorial, New Series, Vol. VII).

(2) *Kalhūr*. The Kalhūrs were a Kurdish tribe between Baghdād and Kirmānshāh.

(3) *Turkmān Kandī*, the modern Turkmānchāi, between Miyāna and Tabrīz, on the route given in the Nuzhatu'l-qulūb (Le Strange, p. 174).

(4) *Jarandāb*, a suburb of Tabrīz.

(5) *The fort of Nūrī*. Nūrī, or Lūrī, was a fort in Māzandarān. The Qāzī's place was given to Mīr Ja'far of Sāwa as mentioned below; Ṭahmāsp's Diary adds: — که به سلسله دیو سلطان مربوط بود.

(6) *Murād Sultān Zu'l-Qadar* died almost immediately, and was succeeded by Ḥamza Sultān Chamishlū Zu'l-Qadar, who was Governor of Shīrāz till 940 A.H.

### 932 A.H.

(1) *Saksanjuk*. See notes on the text. The village is unknown to me.

(2) *Burūn Sulṭān Takalū* was Governor of Mashhad.

(3) *Kharzawīl* is mentioned by Nāṣir-i-Khusraw in his *Safarnāma* as a village close to Qazwīn.

(4) *Bābur's Pānīpat Campaign*. Indian histories may be consulted for Bābur's campaigns and the battle of Pānīpat. The Bhīra campaign was long before the fifth campaign in which the battle of Pānīpat was fought. There are full details in the *Bāburnāma*. According to Bābur Ibrāhīm was found dead among a heap of slain. It is not clear to whom Ḥasan refers by "the Qutluḡs". Bābur writes:—"We bestowed the military collectorate of Dihlī on Red Walī, made Dost Dīwān in the Dihlī district, sealed the treasures, and made them over to their charge". (*Bāburnāma*, p. 476.)

(5) *Tūs*, a town a few miles N.W. of Mashhad, only represented now by a few ruins. See Yate's *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 314-316. It was formerly the capital of a district—from which came Firdawsī. If, as Yates says, "the town of Mashhad is generally supposed to have been populated by the gradual absorption of the people of Tūs", Tūs must have been in decline before the fifteenth century.

(6) *Kaskan*. The name sometimes appears as *Kistan Qarā*. Vambéry (*Bukhārā*) calls him *Kisten Kara Sultan*. Mrs. Beveridge (*Bāburnāma*, p. 545) writes "*Kitīn-qarā Sulṭān*".

(7) *Karīmū'd-dīn Khwāja Ḥabībullāh* succeeded Amīr Ghiyāṣū'd-dīn Muḥammad, and became patron of Khwāndamīr, and the *Ḥabību's-siyar* is named after him.

## 933 A.H.

(1) *Zu'l-Qadar Muḥammad Khān* was the son of blind Shāh Rukh and grandson of 'Alā'u'd-dawla.

(2) *Shurūr*—where Ismā'il's battle with Alwand Beg took place, near Nakhchiwān. The *Sharafnāma* says, at *در اریه چای من اعمال نخچوان*; Ṭahmāsp's *Diary*, *در اریه چای نخچوان*.

(3) *Damrī Sulṭān Shāmlū*. His place was given to Muḥammad Beg Rūmlū, one of his officers.

(4) *Akhī Sulṭān Takalū*. His district, Qazwīn, was given to Muḥammad Beg Sharafu'd-dīn Ūghalī (Ṭahmāsp's *Diary*, and *Jahān Ārā*).

(5) *The Mohacz Campaign*. See Hammer-Purgstall and other histories. Pavet de Courteille has a French translation from the Arabic of Kamāl Pāshāzāda, who died in 940 A.H., giving an early account of the campaign. (*Histoire de la Campagne de Mohacz*.) For Ferdinand and the Bān see notes on the text.

(6) *Ibrāhīm Pāshā*, the Grand Wazīr, was born at Parga and captured as a boy by Turkish corsairs, and attracted Sulaymān's attention by his skill on the violin. He was made Grand Wazīr in 931 A.H., and was

murdered in 942 A.H., being found strangled after dining with the Sultān; it was believed that the Sultān, fearing his power and wealth, and irritated by his pride and familiarity, had him murdered.

(7) *Guzil Dara* (Fair Valley), near Sultāniyya. There was another Guzil Dara near L. Wān.

(8) *Div Sultān was killed*. The Sharafnāma says that Choha Sultān persuaded Ṭahmāsp to shoot Div Sultān when he entered the Diwān. Ṭahmāsp shot him:—*باوجود بی زوری کمان و عدم قدرت شاهی تا سوار نشست*. And the men present then finished him off:—*چون خمیر مایه این فساد—* و سبب عداوت و نفاق قزلباش دیو سلطان بود

### 934 A.H.

The year is not given in A, but must have been accidentally omitted. It comes here.

(1) *Jigarga Sultān Shāmlū* was, according to the Sharafnāma, Governor of Sabzawār; and Muṣṭafā Sultān Afshār, Governor of Sāwa.

(2) *The killing of Ibrāhīm Khān*. Longrigg (Four centuries of modern Iraq) writes of Zu'l-faqār:—"Neither his antecedents, nor the mode of his assumption of government in Baghdad, are clear. He belonged perhaps to a frontier Lurish family, and had gained the following of the powerful Kalhur group. The Khan of Baghdad had marched to the foothills on his way to rejoin the Shah." Māhi Dasht is a few miles west of Kirmānshāh. Nukhūd Beg is mentioned (p. 84) as being in charge of one of the gates of Herāt at the time of 'Ubayd Khān's attack in 927 A.H. The Sharafnāma says that Zu'l-faqār killed the whole of Ibrāhīm's family, except Qāsim Beg, who was Muhrdār with the Shāh, and Muḥammadi Beg and his mother (who was Ṭahmāsp's nurse)—these persons being at the time in the Royal Camp.

### 935 A.H.

(1) *Chaman-i-Makhūr*, near Sāwukh Bulāgh.

(2) *Sārū qumish* (yellow silver), mentioned by the Sharafnāma thus:—*النگی شفا باد جام که مشهور به سارو قامش است*, as the place where Ṭahmāsp stayed after the battle of the Jām river.

(3) *Smote him on the back with his sword*. The Jahān Ārā and Sharafnāma say with a "shash par" or mace; the 'Ālam-Ārāy-i-'Abbāsī says with a 'tūpūz', and adds that the blow damaged 'Ubayd's hearing and he was afterwards known as 'Deaf 'Ubayd'. The Sharafnāma calls the battle the battle of 'Umrābād near Jām. The day in the Jahān Ārā as Thursday the last day of Jumādā II. saved, according to Jahān Ārā and Sharafnāma, by Qilī' others. The events which follow shew that the Uzbek affected by this reverse.

(4) *Āghziwār Sultān*, was son of Damri Sultān killed by 'Ubayd Khān.

(5) *Kech Makrān*. "Kech proper is the narrow tract of country between Sāmi and Nasirabad lying on both sides of the Kech Kaur." "Kech proper is the country round Turbat." "The term Kech is applied in its widest sense, not only to the great central valley of Makran—but to various localities lying to the north and south of the valley. This is the Kech Makran of history, so called to distinguish it from Persian Makran, the two tracts making up the Makrānāt" (Baluchistan Gazetteer, Vol. VII, pp. 295, 301). 'Kej' writes Goldsmith (Eastern Persia, p. 134) 'is reported to be the hottest place in all Makrān'.

(6) *Mawlānā Hilālī*. Badru'd-dīn Hilālī of Astarābād, author of 'Shāh wa Gadā' and a dīwān of Qaṣīdas and Ghazals. The former has been translated into German verse by Éthé. See Browne, Vol. IV, p. 234. The Ātash Kada dates his death 939 A.H.; the Safīna 936 A.H.

(7) *Jurbādaqān*.—Now Gulpayqān (see Jackson, Persia, Past and Present, p. 249). According to the Nuzhatu'l-qulūb, followed by the Haft Iqlīm, this town, 31½ leagues from Iṣfahān, was originally named Gulbādagān (Arabicised into Jurbādaqān) meaning 'the home of roses'. Regarding this expedition Longrigg (Four centuries of modern Iraq, p. 21) says:—"Ṭahmasp marched by Kermanshah to Baghdad. Several assaults availed him nothing. Dhu'l-faqār was as stubborn in defence as bold to seize. Treachery succeeded where the Safawi arms had failed". The Sharafnāma says the Persians were overcome by heat, and about to leave, when 'Alī Beg, a trusted officer of Zu'l-faqār, went with his brother Aḥmad Beg, and found Zu'l-faqār asleep, and cut off his head. This is confirmed by Ṭahmāsp's Diary. 'Alī Beg was called 'Zu'l-faqār Kush'—the slayer of Zu'l-faqār.

## 936 A.H.

(1) *Abū Sa'īd Khān, the Lord of all the Uzbeks*. This is perhaps a suitable place to sketch the succession of Uzbek rulers from the death of Shaybak Khān to the date at which this chronicle ends.

Kūchkünjī, Kūchhūnjī, or Kūchum, Khān, who succeeded to the overlordship of the Uzbek confederacy in 916 A.H. was Shaybak Khān's uncle. Muḥammad Ṭīmūr, Shaybak's son, seems to have remained at Samarqand, and, when he died (in 919 A.H., Qipchāq Khān, or 927 A.H., Ta'rikh-i-badī'a) Kūchum Khān came to Samarqand. Jānī Beg retained his fief at Karmina and Ghujduwān; Sūnduk Khān was made Ruler at Tāshkand; and Jānī Beg's son, Kaskan Qarā, who had taken Balkh from Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā in 932 A.H., ruled at Balkh. In 936 A.H. Kūchum died (Aḥsan and Jahān Ārā; 937 A.H., Qipchāq Khān). He was succeeded by his son Abū Sa'īd, who was Khān till he died in 939 or 940 A.H. Abū Sa'īd was something of a poet, writing under the takhalluṣ of Kūh-kan (Ta'rikh-i-badī'a). After his death the Aḥsan says that his brother 'Abdū'l-lāṭif Khān, who was the Ruler



of Samarqand, took his place. But according to Qipchāq Khān there was a quriltāy in 940 A.H., and 'Ubayd Khān was elected head of the confederacy; the Aḥsan admits that 'Ubayd's name was on the coins of all Transoxiana, and that 'Abdu'l-laṭīf's name was put on the coins only after 'Ubayd's death. The fact appears to be that 'Ubayd was the most powerful and influential of the Uzbeks, and he usurped the headship. After 'Ubayd's death in 946 A.H. Kūchum's son 'Abdullāh became Khān (Lubbu't-tawārikh). But he only lived for six months, and died in 947 A.H., after which 'Abdu'l-laṭīf became undisputed Khān; 'Ubayd's son 'Abdu'l-'azīz succeeding to 'Ubayd's own district of Bukhārā till his death in 957 A.H. In 959 A.H. 'Abdu'l-laṭīf died of dropsy. Meanwhile Jānī Beg had died a natural death at Karmina, and had been succeeded in that province by his son Iskandar. Jānī Beg's other son, Kaskan Qarā, had also died at Balkh, and his place had been taken by his brother Pīr Muḥammad. On 'Abdu'l-'azīz's death in 957 A.H. Pīr Muḥammad left Balkh and took refuge in Bukhārā, where he resisted an attack by Norūz Aḥmad (better known as Burāq Khān) son of Sūnjuk Khān, who came from, and returned to, his own province of Tāshkand. In Bukhārā the headship had remained with 'Ubayd's family, for Burhān bin 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Khān bin 'Ubayd Khān ruled there till he was turned out by Burāq Khān, at a date not specified. This Burāq Khān succeeded in ousting many of his relations from their possessions—gaining, in addition to this own Tāshkand, Samarqand, Bukhārā, Karmina, and Qarshī. He was assassinated in 963 A.H., and attacks were at once made upon his territory by the neighbouring Chiefs, including Haqq Nazar Khān, the Ruler of the Qipchāq Plain.

After Burāq's death the headship of the Uzbek confederacy was given to Pīr Muḥammad of Balkh, but he was superseded almost at once, though retaining his power at Balkh, by his brother Iskandar, whose vigorous son 'Abdullāh was destined to revive the glories of Shaybak and 'Ubayd Khān. In 964 A.H. Sa'īd bin Abū Sa'īd bin Kūchum Khān and 'Abdullāh bin Iskandar attacked Burāq's son Darwish, and took Samarqand from him, driving him back to his original province of Tāshkand. They also seized Bukhārā, where Burhān, who appears to have recovered this town, had just been murdered.

In Iskandar's time Yār Muḥammad Khān, Lord of Astrakhān, fleeing from Russian attack, came to Transoxiana, and was received by Iskandar, who gave his daughter, Zahr Bānū Khānam, to Yār Muḥammad's son Jānī Muḥammad Sultān (Ta'rikh-i-badī'a). From this union three sons were born (Dīn Muḥammad, Bāqī Muḥammad, and Walī Muḥammad). Iskandar did not die till 990 A.H.; he was succeeded by his son 'Abdullāh, who had for long been the leading Uzbek Chief. 'Abdullāh died in 1006 A.H., and his son 'Abdu'l-mūmin the

year after. Then in 1007 A.H. the rule over Transoxiana passed to the Astrakhān family represented by Bāqī Muḥammad.

(2) *Dürmish*. This must be some person other than the Shāmlū Chief Dürmish Khān. But I find no mention of any officer of 'Ubayd's named Dürmish. Possibly we should read Darwish, who is mentioned (p. 126) as being left at Herāt by 'Ubayd Khān in 943 A.H.

### 937, A.H.

(1) *Kundamān* appears to be near Iṣfahān. The quarrel between Ḥusayn Shāmlū and Choha Takalū, and the murder of Choha and ruin of the Takalūs, led, through the defection of Ulma Takalū, to the Turkish war and Sultān Sulaymān's invasion of Āzarbāyjān. The chronogram for the Takalū disturbance given in Ṭahmāsp's Diary is, **أفت تكلو** (937 A.H.).

(2) *Imāmzāda Sahl 'Alī*. This Imāmzāda was near Hamadān. According to the Ḥabībū's-siyar Shāh Ismā'il, soon after the death of Muḥammad Karra, visited Hamadān and raised a building and dome over the tomb (مقبره), and made a garden there. It is not clear who Sahl 'Alī was. Several Sahls are mentioned in the Muntaha'l-arab, but no Sahl 'Alī is among them.

(3) *Qīdar Payghambar*, or Qīdar Nabī, is about 25 miles S.W. of Sultāniyya.

(4) *Ulma Takalū*. Ulma, or Ulāma, Takalū—"one Vlamān" in Le Strange's "Don Juan of Persia"—was a person who had been raised from a low position (Jahān Ārā); Shāh Ṭahmāsp, in his Diary, says he was, in Ismā'il's time, a Yasāwal, was raised to be Īshīk Āghāsi and made an Amīr, and finally, was created Amīru'l-umarā of Āzarbāy-jān. Ṭahmāsp records a list of his misdeeds after the Takalū disturbance. According to the Sharafnāma Ulma raised the flag of rebellion at Tabriz, appropriated the Royal treasure, collected money from the rich by force, fled to Wān, and proposed allegiance to the Turkish Sultān. Thereupon Amīr Sharaf of Bitlis (grandfather of the author of the Sharafnāma) was ordered to go to Wān, and send Ulma and his family to Constantinople. Amīr Sharaf and Ulma met at the river Kharkum, and Ulma invited Sharaf to Wān. But Amīr Sharaf, hearing that Ulma was treating with the Shāh for peace, excused himself, and sent for Ulma's family. The people of Wān, however, would not let them go, nor would they let Sharaf's envoys enter the town. Sharaf, thinking it unwise to attack Wān, took Ulma to Bitlis, and thence sent him to Turkey—an act which greatly annoyed Ulma and made him complain to the Sultān and ask that Sharaf should be turned out of Bitlis and he should be made Governor of that town. The Sultān passed orders as Ulma wished, and appointed an army against Bitlis. Nor were the gifts and remonstrances sent by Amīr Sharaf of any avail, for the Grand Wazīr was

against him on account of a horse, which had been taken in an attack on the Pāzūkī Kurds and which the Wazīr wanted but had been unable to get from Amīr Sharaf. Amīr Sharaf strengthened his forts, and himself fled to Ṭahmāsp. Fīl Ya'qūb, Governor of Diyārbakr, and Ulma arrived outside Bitlīs, and besieged it (938 A.H.).

According to Hammer-Purgstall Ulma was eventually made Governor of Bosnia. In 955 A.H. when Ilqās Mirzā was sent ahead in the second Turkish war Ulma was made his Lala.

(5) *Sons of the sister of the late Shāh*. B. wrongly reads شاه دین پناه i.e. Ṭahmāsp. 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū, killed in the fighting with the Kurds in 912 A.H., and Qarā Khān (brother of Khān Muḥammad, killed at Chāldirān) married sisters of Shāh Ismā'īl.

### 938 A.H.

(1) *Qarā Tuḡhūz Dara*, apparently a valley near Khūy. The MSS. write the name in a variety of ways; Phillott's Diary of Ṭahmāsp has قرانقر, and this may be the correct reading, for a place of this name is shown in the جغرافیای مفصل ایران S.E. of the Sahand Mountains.

(2) *Zu'l-Qadar Sultān*. This must be, I think, Muḥammad Zu'l-Qadar, son of Blind Shāh Rukh and grandson of 'Alā'u'd-dawla.

(3) *Girāyīs*. They are a Turkish tribe, who formerly occupied parts of the country round the Gurgān river. They are mentioned several times by Yate in "Khurasan and Sistan". See also Rabino's Māzandarān and Astarābād, pp. 12 and 78.

### 939 A.H.

(1) *Zāwiya-i-Karkh*. Karkh is mentioned in the Nuzhatu'l-qulūb as a district of Ṭāliqān, East of Qazwīn.

(2) *Amīr Sultān Rūmlū*. This was the author's grandfather.

(3) *Again Ulma attacked Bitlīs*. Fīl Ya'qūb and Ulma fled from Bitlīs at the approach of Ṭahmāsp, leaving their kit and two guns. There was a feast at Akhlāt to celebrate the event, and Amīr Sharaf was made a Khān and an Amīr of Persia. Fīl Ya'qūb and Ulma, however, attacked Bitlīs again in 939 A.H., when the Shāh had left for Khurāsān, and a battle was fought in which Amīr Sharaf's right wing was under Amīra Beg Maḥmūdī, who deserted and joined Ulma (the Aḥsan calls the place where the battle was fought Naki; the Sharaf-nāma has Tālig). Moreover Amīr Sharaf was hit in the shoulder by a musket ball, and killed; and his men fled. Shamsu'd-dīn, his son, was with the Sultān, and there were quarrels between him and Ulma—the latter persisting in his demand for Bitlīs which was the hereditary possession of Shamsu'd-dīn's family—one Sharaf Kurd being its Chief in the days of Tīmūr. Shamsu'd-dīn was offered Malāṭiya instead of

Bitlis ; but he did not accept this arrangement, and fled to Tabriz with his family. We hear of him subsequently in the service of the Shāh, who gave him various districts. He married a daughter of Amīr Khān Mawṣilū, and from this union was born, in 949 A.H. at Garṃrūd, or some say Karahrūd (Rieu), a village near Qum, Sharaf Khān the author of the Sharafnāma. This Sharaf Khān was brought up at the Persian Court, for Ṭahmāsp liked his young Chiefs to be brought up and educated under his own control. In 961 A.H., he was given Sāliyān and Maḥmūd-ābād under Shīrwān, and made an Amīr. Later on he married the daughter of Muḥammad Beg, Governor of Hamadān. He was engaged in the operations in Gīlān at the end of Ṭahmāsp's reign. When Ismā'il II succeeded he fled to Turkey, and he was given his ancestral fief of Bitlis, where he wrote the Sharafnāma, completing it in 1005 A.H. One of the three manuscript copies in the Bodleian appears to be the actual copy made by the author. A translation in French (*Fastes de la Nation Kurde*) was made by Charmoy and published in St. Petersburg (Leningrad) in 1868 A.D.

(4) *The Shāh forbade*, etc.—recorded also in the Jahān Ārā, but not mentioned in Ṭahmāsp's Diary, though there is a detailed account of a dream, in which the Imāms gave the King orders on certain matters.

## 940 A.H.

(1) *Mūsā Sultān* bin 'Īsā Beg Mawṣilū had been appointed to the Government of Āzarbāyjān in 939 A.H. (Jahān Ārā). He appears to have been trusted by Ṭahmāsp (Sharafnāma).

(2) *Alanchiq*—a fort near Nakhchiwān, where Rustam Beg was confined till his release by Ayba Sultān. The fort was besieged by Timūr's armies for ten years and at last captured in 803 A.H.

(3) *Kabūd Gumbad* is Ray. There is another place of this name near Kalāt. *Qarā Aghāch* (the Black Forest). See notes on the text. The place is near Abhar.

(4) *Ribāt-i-Dāng*. The Jahān Ārā reads Ribāt-i-Atābek. Ribāt-i-Dāng is mentioned several times in this chronicle, but I do not find its locality stated in the usual books of geographical reference available. It is clearly on the road from Qum to Qazwīn.

(5) *Was making for Baghdad*. The account of the Turkish invasion is very unsatisfactory. Sulaymān's journal gives his route in detail, and is cited in Hammer-Purgstall's History. It is as follows (omitting smaller halting places):—"Left Scutari 28 Zi'l-ḥijja 940 A.H. (15th June, 1534 A.D.); Kutahiya; Qara Hisar; Aq Shahr; Qoniya (the Grand Wazir reaches Tabriz); Arzinjān; Qars; Erzerum; Arjish; Khuy; Tabriz; Aujan; Miyana; Qizil Uzun; Sultaniyya; (Ulma leaves for Tabriz); Mazian; Darjuzin; Qara Būlaq Chayi; Sayin Fort; Qasr-i-Shirin; Tughuz Ulum; Baghdad; (during the winter months news

comes that the Shah had gone to Tabriz, had turned out the Turks, and gone to Sultaniyya; later that Ulma was asking for help). Leaves Baghdād in Shawwal (April); Sulukhan Chayiri; Nilan; Khaskoi; Hanani Kindi; Guzil Dara; (Ulma reports that the Shah has left Van, and that Sam Mirza has set out to render homage); Sitare; Kil; Khan Kedughi; Gundilan; Tukan; (Ulma rejoins the army); Saruja Qamish; Nao; Arwari; Sa'adabad (Tabriz); (the march from Baghdad took 91 days); Aujan; Khan Abbas; (proclamation that the Sultan recognized Sam Mirza as his son, and gave him all the country beyond the river Qizil Uzun); Miyana; Qizil Uzun; Khan Sar Jem; Ohan Nikbai; Senghan; Sultaniyya; Qidar Nabi; Chorul; Takht-i-Sulayman; Dehne; Darjuzin; thence back to Tabriz, via Nikbai Khan and Aujan; (stays in a garden near Shumb-i-Ghazan). Leaves Tabriz in the month of Safar (August); Marand; Khuy; Band-i-Mahi; Arjish; Adiljawaz; Akhlat; (news that Ulma has met and fought the Shah); Guzil Dara; Bitlis; Bashri (on the Euphrates); Salakh Chayi; Ayār Chayi; Amid; Qarabagh; (crosses the Euphrates); Telhala; Hailan; Aleppo; Antioch; Bozuk; Eski Shahr; Yeni Shahr; Nicaea; Nicomedia; Constantinople (8th June, 1536 A.D.).

Shāh Ṭahmāsp appears to have recognized that he could not face the main Turkish army. But he easily avoided it. He was always ready for terms of peace, for which he made overtures when the Sultān was at Tabriz (Sharafnāma). Another point which is clear is the treachery of Sām Mirzā. The Sharafnāma says that when Ṭahmāsp was besieging Wān, and had almost captured it, news came that Sām Mirzā had rebelled and the Sultān had appointed him Shāh; this information caused Ṭahmāsp to leave Wān for 'Irāq. Ṭahmāsp's Diary (p. 34) confirms this. In 941 A.H. when the Shāh was at Sultāniyya Qāzī-i-Jahān, who had long been imprisoned at Resht, came and was received and appointed to the Diwān-i-a'alā.

Besides insufficient forces, and lack of artillery, the Shāh had to contend with constant treachery. Many of the leaders of his Turkī troops could not be trusted to fight against the Sultān. The Jahān Ārā says that at the beginning of the campaign the Shāh had only 3,000 horses fit to use.

(6) *Shekh 'Alī bin 'Abdu'l-Ālī al-Mujtahid*. The Jahān Ārā gives his name as Zaynu'd-dīn, and says he died at Najaf. Browne (Vol. IV, p. 406) calls him Nūru'd-dīn.

(7) *Qāzī Musāfir*, was the Qāzī of Tabriz (Ḥabību's-siyar).

(8) *Lisānī*. For this poet see Browne, Vol. IV, p. 235.

## 941 A.H.

(1) *Ghāzī Khān Zu'l-Qaḍar* was Governor of Shirāz since 939 A.H., and brother of Khalīl who was killed by Ismā'il's order after Chāldirān

—to be distinguished from Ghāzī Khān Takalū, whose treachery has been recorded.

(2) *Cast them before the Shāh's horse.* For a modern example of this savagery see Vambéry's *Life*, p. 206, which describes the pouring out of sacks of heads before the Khān of Khīva's officer.

(3) *Arjīsh* (Plotemy's Arsissa) on the northern shore of L. Wān.

(4) *Khwāja Kalān.* For this old general of Bābur and Humāyūn see the *Bāburnāma*, Lane-Poole's *Bābur*, and other Indian histories.

(5) *Istifzār.* See notes on the text.

(6) *Alwand Khān Afshār* was the Governor of Kūh Gilūya; he was put to death for sedition (Jahān Ārā).

## 942 A.H.

(1) *Fūshanj*—included by the Haft Iqlīm among the towns of the fourth Clime, and said to have been founded by Bushang, son of Afrāsi-yāb. The *Nuzhatu'l-qulūb* says it was eight leagues from Herāt, and that the Pharaoh of Egypt in the time of Moses came from this town (Le Strange's translation, p. 151). It is now Ghūriyān.

(2) *Muḥammad Raḥīm.* The name given elsewhere is 'Abdu'r-raḥīm.

(3) *Sultān Khalīl* of Shīrwān married Parī Khānam, daughter of Shāh Ismā'il (Ḥabībū's-siyar and Khwar Shāh's Ta'rikh-i-Ilchi-i-Nizām Shāh). Khalīl was the eldest son of Ibrāhīm, or Shekh Shāh, son of Farrukh Yasār.

(4) *Muẓaffar Sultān.* See note on Amīra Dubbāj under 924 A.H. (2). 'Abdu'l-fattāḥ Fūmanī says he was put in a cage which was hoisted to the top of the Rashīdiyya minaret, and then he was shot, and his body taken down a week later. The *Sharafnāma* says the Muẓaffariyya mosque; and he was covered with petroleum and burnt. Khwar Shāh's history just mentioned states that Muẓaffar was shipwrecked on the Shīrwān coast and received by Sultān Khalīl, who, however, died shortly after. Khalīl's widow, Parī Khānam seized Muẓaffar and sent him to Ṭahmāsp. After Muẓaffar had been put to death his widow went with her son to Ṭahmāsp, who gave her in marriage to Shāh Ni'matullāh.

(5) *Ahlī.* Muḥammad Ahlī, born at Shīrāz, and buried there, after a life of more than eighty years, on the left of Ḥāfiẓ, wrote three ornate qaṣīdas in honour of 'Alī Shīr, Sultān Ya'qūb, and Shāh Ismā'il —also a maṣnawī known as *Siḥr-i-ḥalāl*, tracts on prosody, rhyme, and the art of composing riddles. For a full list of his works see Sachau and Éthé's *Bodleian Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, No. 1027.

## 943 A.H.

(1) *Had suffered much at Nisā and Abīward.* According to the *Jahān Ārā* the Persians marched to Nisā and Abīward, and thence

(suffering greatly from the cold) they marched to Marv, and took it; from Marv they went to Herāt and Qandahār.

(2) *Muḥammad Khān*. This is Dīn Muḥammad. Elsewhere their father's name is given as Ulūsh, and by the Jahān Ārā and Qipchāq Khān as Anūsha (see genealogical tree).

(3) *Bahrām Mirzā and Gīlān*. Kiyā Khwar Kiyā-i-Ṭāliqānī was a Gīlān Chief and the Wakil of Sultān Ḥasan at Ṭahmāsp's Court. According to the Jahān Ārā the cause of Bahrām's discomfiture was his action in imprisoning Ḥasan Āghā Shāmlū and Khwāja 'Ināya-tullāh Wazīr.

The account given by Khwar Shāh is as follows:—Kār Kiyā Sultān Ḥasan, who succeeded to the throne of Biya Pish in 941 A.H., died in 944 A.H., leaving a small son, Khān Aḥmad. The Wakil Khwar Kiyā obtained permission to return to Gīlān, but found the chief power there in the hands of a Gīlān noble named Abū Sa'id Bahādur, and he returned to Ṭabriz and appealed for help to Ṭahmāsp, who sent Bahrām Mirzā with Khwar Kiyā to Gīlān. These Chiefs took Alamūt fort and Lāmsīr. Khwar Kiyā and Ḥasan Sultān (Ḥasan Āghā Shāmlū) marched to Lāhijān and drove out Abū Sa'id. Khān Aḥmad, the baby prince, had meanwhile been secretly taken away to the jungles. This was reported by the Lāhijān people. Ḥasan Sultān, thinking this was a trick of Khwar Kiyā, wrote accordingly to Bahrām Mirzā, who advanced on Lāhijān and seized Khwar Kiyā and put him in prison. These events excited the Gīlānīs who rose against Bahrām Mirzā, and he had to flee, taking Khwar Kiyā with him. Khwar Kiyā died at Ṭāliqān.

Khān Aḥmad appears on the scene later on. He was grandson of a man of the same name, who was brother of Kār Kiyā Mirzā 'Alī, the friend of Shāh Ismā'il's childhood at Lāhijān. I do not give a detailed genealogy of the Lāhijān and Resht families, or a history of their constant wars; all this can be found in Rabino's Māzandarān and Astarābād, and in his two articles in the J.R.A.S., 1918, p. 85, and 1920, p. 277.

*Daryāwuk*.—Near Qazwīn (Sharafnāma).

## 944 A.H.

(1) *Amir Qiwāmu'd-dīn Nūr Bakhsh*. See note on Ummidī [929 A.H. (3)]. Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh, the founder of the order of Nūr-bakhshiyya Šūfis, was a native of Quhistān in Khurāsān, who died near Ray in 869 A.H. (Āṣār-i-'Ajam, p. 68, note).

(2) *Khwāja Kalān* is called in the Jahān Ārā Malikzāda-i-Khwāf. *Ustā* is not, of course, the fort taken by Ismā'il, but a place in Bākharz (Sharafnāma—which however writes *Ustād*).

## 945 A.H.

This year is not shown in A.

(1) *Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ*. The Jahān Ārā makes this man grandson of Muẓaffar Bitikchī, and adds that with his death the family became extent. The Ta'rikh-i-Ālam-Ārāy-i-Ābbāsī says he was son of Muẓaffar Bitikchī's brother. The Sharafnāma agrees with the Aḥsan.

(2) *'Umar Ghāzī Khān*, son of Sultān Ghāzī, and grandson of Īl Pārs Khān who became Ruler of Khīva in 916 A.H. See genealogical tree, and note (5), below.

(3) *'Arabgīrlū*—of *'Arabgīr*, a town in the Kharpūt District.

(4) *Qarābāgh*. This is a town and district, constantly mentioned, north of the Aras river and east of Nakhchiwān.

*Mughān* is the tract south of the Aras, and of the Kūr after it receives the Aras.

(5) *The sons of Ṣūfiyān Khān*. •See genealogical tree. As Lane-Poole observes (*Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 278) the history of the Khwārazm Khanate is exceedingly obscure. I cannot quite follow the succession which he gives. From the Jahān Ārā and Ta'rikh-i-badī'a, and the occasional information given by the Aḥsan, I give the following unsatisfactory outline, which may be read in conjunction with the genealogical table.

Īl Pārs Khān took the province in 916 A.H., and held it till his death in 923. He was succeeded by his son Sultān Ghāzī, who reigned till 945, when he was put to death. But the province must have been divided in Sultān Ghāzī's time, for the Jahān Ārā mentions Ṣūfiyān bin Muḥammad Amīn as being in possession till 941, when he died. In 945, Sultān Ghāzī was killed, and disturbances, as narrated in the Aḥsan, followed—apparently mainly owing to the rivalry between 'Umar Ghāzī, Sultān Ghāzī's son, and the sons of Ṣūfiyān. 'Umar Ghāzī fled to Tāshkand, and got help from Burāq Khān, who was his uncle. Burāq came with 'Ubayd Khān to Khwārazm. After the fighting described, 'Ubayd's generals were heavily defeated by Dīn Muḥammad and the sons of Ṣūfiyān at Hazārasp. As a result Abū Yūsuf bin Muḥammad Amīn was made King, and ruled till 956, being followed by Ūghatāy (? A'tāy, Akatāy) his brother. In 961, Ūghatāy was overthrown by Yūnus Khān bin Ṣūfiyān after five years strife. Yūnus Khān, however, was shortly after defeated by Dūst Khān bin Bujugha (? the name is difficult to read). Three years later (964) Hājīm Khān succeeded. But meanwhile part of the province was held by 'Alī Sultān, brother of Dīn Muḥammad and son of Anūsha Khān bin Muḥammad Amīn—'Alī at Khīva and Urganj, and Hājīm Khān at Wazīr. 'Alī Sultān held his own territory till his death in 973, when Hājīm Khān appears to have annexed the whole province. In his turn, however,



Ḥājim Khān was overthrown by 'Abdullāh bin Iskandar, and he fled to Persia with his sons—at what date is not clear. One of his sons, Muḥammad Qulī Sulṭān, remained at the Persian Court till 1001 A.H., when he escaped back to Khwārazm.

(6) *Urganj*. There have been three Urganj towns in the Khwārazm territory. The first city, known also as Gurgānj, or Jurjāniyya, was destroyed by Chingiz Khān and his Mongols. Near it was founded another city shown in Le Strange's map (Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 447). Rizā Qulī Khān apparently calls this place *کهنه اورگنج*—New Old Urganj. (Sifāratnāma-i-Khwārazm, Schefer's text, p. 94.) The present town of Urganj is given in Schuyler's map as situated between Khiva and the river Oxus. The town meant here seems probably to have been the second of the three mentioned above. The present Urganj is said in Muraviev's Journey to Khiva to be "the proper capital of the country", the map attached does not however show the town. The present capital, Khiva, is often called Khivaq; Le Strange calls this "the older spelling of the name". Muraviev also writes, "The Natives declare that the ancient name of this town was Khivak". But surely Khivaq is simply the Arabicised form; and Rizā Qulī Khān definitely states this.

(7) *Wazir* was situated six leagues north-west of Jurjāniyya; it is supposed to be the town called Sellizure (Shahr-i-Wazir) by Antony Jenkinson in the 16th century. It was possible to go from Urganj to Wazir by water, and both these towns were ruined by the Oxus changing its course about 1575 A.D. Wazir was the birth-place of 'Ubayd Khān and the residence of Ḥājim Khān.

(8) *Hazārasp* is a town one stage east from Khiva. During the siege of this town by Sulṭān Sanjar (1147 A.D.) there was a well-known contest of wit between Anwarī and Waṭwāt (Browne, Vol. II, p. 309; Rizā Qulī Khān, Sifāratnāma, p. 83).

(9) *Alī Īlis*—A Turkish tribe located near Andikhūd. Vambéry, in an essay on the Turkmāns, states that the Alīlī tribe "remained in the pay of the kings of Persia till the downfall of the Sefavis".

## 946 A.H.

(1) *Mahdī Qulī Sulṭān Afshār*, for some years Governor of Shūshtar, is said by the Jahān Ārā to have disregarded Ṭahmāsp's orders about wine drinking. Ḥaydar Sulṭān, who was sent against him, was his cousin.

(2) *'Ubayd Khān*. Vambéry (Bukhārā) writes "in the 56th year of his age". The Ta'rikh-i-Qipchāqkhānī says he was born at Wazir in Turkistān in 892 A.H.—the same year as Shāh Ismā'il. This is also confirmed by the Tawārikh-i-badī'a (Bodleian MS. Ouseley, 269), which adds that he was named after Sayyidu'l-abrār Khwāja 'Ubaydullāh

Aḥrār, and learned Nast'aliq writing from the famous penman Mawlānā Mir 'Alī of Herāt, and gives the following chronogram for his death :—  
 اكه از حامى اهل دل عبيد الله خان (=946 A.H.). Mirzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, a Sunnī writer, gives a different estimate of his character. "He was a true Musulmān, religiously inclined, pious, and abstinent.... He was pre-eminent for his valour and for his generosity.... In short, he was a king endowed with every excellence, and during his lifetime, his capital Bukhārā, became such a centre of the arts and sciences, that one was reminded of Herāt in the days of Mirzā Sulṭān Husain". (Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī, Elias and Ross, p. 285).

## 947 A.H.

(1) *Ḥājī Shekh Kurd*. Ḥājī Shekh bin Ibrāhīm was a Chief of Babān. But he was no longer alive in 947 A.H., having been attacked and killed by a band of Kurds when on his way to meet the Sulṭān in 941 A.H. (Sharafnāma). He was succeeded by his son Budāq, who ruled for sixteen years, and this Budāq must be the person here intended. Budāq eventually fled to Turkey and joined Bāyazīd at Kūtāhiya. His head was one of those sent by Bāyazīd to his father, Sulṭān Sulaymān, after the battle at Qoniya. Budāq's son was another Ḥājī Shekh who accompanied Bāyazīd to Persia and was there put to death by the Shāh's order.

(2) *The Shāh went against the Georgians*. This is the first of the four expeditions of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The dates of these expeditions given in the Aḥsan are 947, 953, 958, and 961 A.H., corresponding to 1540, 1546, 1551, and 1553 A.D. Iskandar Munshī, in his Ta'rīkh-i-'Ālam-Ārāy-i-'Abbāsī, follows the Aḥsan as to dates and as to many details, and appears to have based his accounts on the Aḥsan. Wakhusht, the Georgian chronicler, places the four campaigns in 1536, 1548, 1553, and 1558 A.D. Brosset (*Histoire de la Géorgie*, Part II, Book I, p. 452) gives reasons for preferring the Georgian chronicler's dates. But Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū—not Iskandar Munshī—seems to me a better authority. He was writing in 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.), and he tells us that he was present himself during the second expedition in 1546 A.D.; perhaps he was in the others too. Wakhusht (son of the later Georgian King Wakhtang VI) did not complete his chronicle till the eighteenth century, and we know little about his sources. The Jahān Ārā agrees with the Aḥsan.

(3) *Tiflis*. For a description of the city see Wardrop, *The Kingdom of Georgia*, p. 8. The name is supposed to be from the root 'tap', to be warm, because of the hot medicinal springs in the place. Birtīs is said by Brosset to be Beratlu, but I cannot identify it, or Bargshāt. Didkū, or Didgora, is a range of hills west of Tiflis.

(4) *Malik Jahāngīr bin Malik Kāūs*. See note on the Gāv Bāra Rulers of Rustamdār, under 909 A.H. (4).

(5) *Ḥasan bin Abū Ishāq* of Rīshahr. The *Jahān Ārā* says that Ḥasan, his brother Shāh 'Alī, and his father Mīr 'Alī Ishāq, had been promoted, and rebelled; his province was given to Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Kachal Beg Ḥājī Lur, made this year Governor of Shirāz.

(6) *Rīshahr*. There were two towns of this name—one that now well known near Būshire, and the other near Behbehān. It is not easy to decide which place is intended here. For the former, see Curzon's *Persia*, Vol. II, p. 235, for the latter Le Strange (*Translation of Nuzhatu'l-qulūb*, p. 129, and note); and *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 271.

(7) *Ghāzī Khān Zu'l-qadar*. His death is put by the *Sharafnāma* in 946 A.H. Modern Persian authorities agree with the Aḥsan (e.g. Mīrzā Furṣat's *Āṣār-i-'Ājam*).

(8) '*Alā'u'd-dawla Ismā'il*, Governor of Dizfūl, was, presumably, one of the Musha'sha'i family, mentioned under 914 A.H. (3).

(9) *Jahāngīr* of the Lesser Lurs was put to death by Ṭahmāsp in 949 A.H., and was succeeded by his son Rustam. His other son, Muḥammad, was imprisoned at Alamūt, and this Muḥammad's four sons, 'Alī Khān, Islamz, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Virdī, organized pillaging expeditions as far as Isfahān. After ten years at Alamūt, Muḥammad was released on his engaging to produce his sons at Court, and he was brought to Qazwīn, and put under the charge of Ḥusayn Beg Ustājilū. However, he escaped, and joined his sons; and Rustam was driven out by Muḥammad, who in the end placated the Shāh and was recognized (*Sharafnāma*).

(10) *The fort of Bayāt*—near Jangula in the Baghdād District (Charmoy).

(11) *Marāgha*. Naṣīru'd-dīn's observatory, on a hill, north of Marāgha, was made by command of Ḥūlāgū. The famous tables (*Zij-i-Ilkhānī*) were published in Abāqā's time.

Regarding Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn's works, the *Muhākamāt* (not *Muhākāt* as in the MSS.) are discussions between his father and Jalālu'd-dīn Dawwānī regarding their commentaries on the *Tajrid* and *Maṭālī*. Mīrzā Furṣat (*Āṣār-i-'Ājam*, p. 459) gives a rather different list of works by Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn, omitting some of these given by our author, and adding some others.

## 950 A.H.

(1) 950 A.H. All the MSS. omit 949 A.H. In the *Jahān Ārā* the Dizfūl expedition, and the arrival of the Uzbek envoys are put in the year 949 A.H. In 950 A.H. according to both *Jahān Ārā* and *Sharafnāma*, Ṭahmāsp fell ill at Nihāwand under Hamadān. Ghāzī Khān Takalū was again suspected of treachery, and Ilqās Mīrzā, under orders, put him and his brother Muṣṭafā to death at Maḥmūdābād (Shīrwān); his youngest brother was also executed at Qazwīn.

(2) *Saraband*—near Hamadān (Sharafnāma). Charmoy doubts the reading, and suggests Sarhadd (سرحد). But the MSS. all agree that the word is سره بند.

(3) *Kalhūrs*. The Kalhūrs were one of the four original Kurdish tribes, the other three being Karmanj, Lur, and Gurān. For details of the Kurdish tribes see Charmoy's "Fastes", i.e. translation of the Sharafnāma and notes.

(4) *War of the Turks and Georgians*. The Georgian chronicles date this 1541 A.D., i.e. two years earlier than the date given here. The later date may be that of the second battle. It appears that about this time Bagrāt of Imereth ruled over Samtzkhe. As a result of the Turkish victories the province was handed back to Kaykhusraw, the Atābeg of Samtzkhe.

(5) *Āmid*. The MSS. have Ḥamid; see notes on the text.

(6) *Qānlū Chamānī* is on the river Arpa—a tributary of the Aras.

## 951 A.H.

(1) *The coming of Humāyūn Pādshāh*. This is described in most Indian histories. All writers agree that Humāyūn was received and treated with great honour outwardly. It is however usually believed that Shāh Ṭahmāsp put a good deal of pressure on Humāyūn to become a Shī'a, and attempted to make him and Bayrām Khān wear the Ṣūfī "Tāj". The Sharafnāma says that the Shāh meditated treachery, and even went so far as to attempt Humāyūn's life:—

فاما بعضی اوقات شاه طهماسب قصد میرزا همايون کرده آخر الامر بسعی  
خواهرش سلطانم ز سر آن معامله در گذشته در مقام شفقت آمده

Humāyūn's visit to Ardabil is usually considered to afford proof that he outwardly conformed to the Shāh's persuasion or command. He was also obliged to agree to hand over Qandahār to the Persians. After all he might reasonably be expected to make some return for the valuable assistance that the Persians gave him. The failure of the Mughal Emperors to perform the promise that Humāyūn gave about Qandahār made that city a bone of contention between Shāh and Emperor for many a long year.

There is an interesting manuscript in the Bodleian Library, purporting to be a copy of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's Farmān addressed to Muḥammad Khān Sharafu'd-dīn, Beglarbegī of Khurāsān. The MS. is dated 1194 A.H., and was perhaps copied in Lucknow. The Farmān acknowledges a letter from Muḥammad Khān, sent by the hand of Kamālū'd-dīn Shāh Qulī Bahādur, and received by the Shāh on 13 Zī'l-hijja 950 A.H.; and issues orders for the proper reception of Humāyūn; detailing

the presents to be given and the arrangements to be made. A continuation of the MS. says that Muḥammad Sharafu'd-dīn met Humāyūn at Pul-i-mālān (which is a place of resort for Herātis and a place of pilgrimage, four leagues south of the Jahān Āra garden, to which Humāyūn was conducted on 1 Zi'l-qa'da 950 A.H.). After the Norūz Humāyūn set out for Mashhad, via Jām, where Aḥmad Sultān, Governor of Sistān, left him. Near Mashhad Shāh Qulī Khān Ustājilū, Governor of Mashhad, met Humāyūn. Mashhad was reached 15th Muḥarram 951 A.H. The further route was via Nayshāpūr, Sabzawār, Dāmaghān, Biṣṭām (Shekh Bāyazīd Biṣṭāmī's rawḍa visited), Samnān (tomb of Shekh 'Alā'-u'd-dawla Samnānī at Ṣufiābād seen), Ray, Qazwīn (stayed at the house of the Kalāntar 'Abdu'l-ghaṇī, where the Shāh formerly used to live). The Shāh had left for his summer quarters at Sultāniyya and Sūrluq, and Bayrām Khān was sent ahead. The Shāh was camped between Abhar and Sultāniyya, from where he sent Bahrām and Sām Mirzās to meet Humāyūn. In the first Jumādā the Shāh himself came to meet the Emperor. Mirzā Qāsim Gūnābādī wrote a maṣnawī for the occasion. The two monarchs went together to Sultāniyya, and a great hunt (قورغ) was organized at Sāruq Yaylāq. During the hunt Bahrām Mirzā, who had a dispute with Abū'l-qāsim Khulafā, took the opportunity of shooting him, and the matter was hushed up and did not reach the Shāh's ears. From there Humāyūn took leave of the Shāh, and visited Tabriz and Ardabil. He was met outside Tabriz at Amīr Mirānshāh's dam, and outside Ardabil at Shamāsī. From Ardabil he went to Tārum, Khalkhāl, Kharzawīl, Sabzawār (where a daughter was born to him), Mashhad (where Mawlānā Hayratī wrote poetry in his honour), and Sistān (where Prince Muḥammad Murād Mirzā and the Persian Chiefs, who had been detailed to assist him, joined him). A list is given of these Chiefs, as follows:—Budāq Khān Qājār (Lala of the Prince), Shāh Qulī Sultān Afshār (Hākim of Kirmān), Aḥmad Sultān Shāmlū walad Muḥammad Khalifa, Sanjāb Sultān Afshār, Yār 'Alī Sultān Takalū, Sultān 'Alī Afshār, Sultān Qulī Qūrchibāshi, Sultān Ḥusayn Qulī (brother of Aḥmad Sultān), 'Adham Mirzā (son of Div Sultān), Ḥaydar Sultān Uzbek Shaybānī and his son, Maqsūd Mirzā (son of Zaynu'd-dīn Sultān Shāmlū), Muḥammadi Mirzā (grandson of Mirzā Jahānshāh Turkmān Qarāquyūnlū, Shāh Virdi Beg Kachal Ustājilū, Sultān Chulāq (sister's son of Muḥammad Khān), Yādgār Sultān Mawṣilū, Walī Sultān (son of Ṣūfiyān Khalifa Rūmlū), 'Alī Beg (killer of Zu'l-faḡār).

The death of Abū'l-qāsim Khulafā Qājār, the Shāh's chief Standard bearer, is mentioned by the Jahān Ārā, but that work states that he was accidentally shot and died.

(2) *Shāh Ḥusayn bin Shujā' Beg Arghūn*, grandson of Amīr Zu'n-nūn. The name is sometimes given as Ḥusayn and sometimes as Ḥasān. The Bāburnāma says Ḥasan, but Gulbadan Begam Ḥusayn.

## 952 A.H.

(1) *The House of God* (بيت الله), i.e. the Ka'ba in the great mosque at Mecca, or Mecca itself, which is commonly called in Persia to-day خانه خدا (the House of God).

## 953 A.H.

(1) *Bakdilī*. I find Bakdilīs among the list of Fārs iliāt. But such names are to be found in many different tribes, and it is impossible to be sure to what clan this particular Bakdilī belonged.

(2) *Gabrs*. See notes on the text ; and compare Gibbon (Ch. LXVIII, note on Gabours)—“Gabour is no more than Gheber, which was transferred from the Persian to the Turkish language, from the worshippers of fire to those of the crucifix (d' Herbelot, *Biblio. Orient.*, p. 375)”. The *Ẓafarnāma* commonly calls Hindus Gabrs.

This is the second expedition of Ṭahmāsp against Georgia, and it was apparently made in revenge for the devastation of Āzarbāyjān by Lawand and Lawāsān. These Chiefs, according to the Georgian chronicles, attacked Āzarbāyjān while the Shāh was otherwise engaged. In this Ījū, Shīr Mazān, and Wākhusht had taken part, and for their acts they were put to death when they fell into the Shāh's hands in 958 A.H.

(3) *Kamālu'd-dīn Ismā'il*. For this poet see Browne, Vol. II, p. 540. He was tortured to death by the Mongols at Iṣfahān in 635 A.H. The lines quoted are also quoted in the *Ẓafarnāma* (Vol. II, p. 26).

## 954 A.H.

(1) *Khunāliq*. According to Barbier de Meynard (*Dictionaire géographique de la Perse*, p. 212) Khunliq is a town of the province of Darband. The Samūr river, falling into the Caspian Sea, forms the northern boundary of Shīrwān.

(2) *Thence to Constantinople*. Hammer-Purgstall says that Ilqās went to Turkey via the Qipchāq Plain and the Black Sea.

(3) *Qitāq*. This I take to be the Caucasus ; it is spelt قيطان ; in the *Sharafnāma* it is written قيتق. In the *Ẓafarnāma* (Vol. I, p. 742) I find :—

چون از در بند بگذشتند در دامن البرز کوه قومی از هواداران توقمش خان بودند  
که ایشان را قیتاغ می گفتند

(4) 'Abdullāh Khān was son of Qarā Khān the brother of Khān Muḥammad Ustājilū.

(5) *Pāsīn* is the district east of Erzerūm, containing the town of Āwanik.

(6) *Humāyūn's war with Mīrzā Sulaymān*. Sulaymān was a son of Khān Mīrzā (Bābur's cousin). He was sent by Bābur to rule Badakh-

shān, where his father had ruled. "Shortly after having been acknowledged lord of Kabul, Humāyūn had set out for Badakhshān to recover that tributary province, which, during the conflict between himself and Kamran, had been seized by its former ruler, their cousin Mirzā Sulaiman" (Malleon).

(7) *Nizāmu'l-mulk*, i.e. Burhān, the second of the Nizāmshāhī Kings of Aḥmadnagar (914-961 A.H.).

(8) *Filān*—"ville et contrée voisines de Bab-el-abwab (Derbend) et du pays des Khazars. . . de nos jours it est appelé Korkandji" (Barbier de Meynard, Dict. géograph., p. 431).

## 955 A.H.

(1) *Sultān Sulaymān's coming with Ilqās*. Sulaymān's march is given in his diary; he came from Erzerūm via Arjīsh, Band-i-Māhī, Khūy, Sūfiyān, and Shumb-i-Ghāzān, to Tabrīz; and marched back via Shabistar, Tasūj, Salmās, Āwanīk, Wān, Band-i-Māhī, Arjīsh, 'Ādil-jawāz, Melāsgird, Bitlis, and Diyārbakr.

Malcolm writes:—"Ikhas entered into an alliance with the Emperor of Constantinople, which encouraged Soliman to another invasion of Persia". The Sharafnāma says Ilqās kept writing to Sultān Sulaymān saying that the Qizilbāshes were disaffected, etc.

(2) *Dogharī*. The route is straight from Erzerūm to Khūy and Tabrīz.

(3) *Chapanī*. The MSS. read چپنی generally, but I think the word is چپنی. The surrender of Wān by Shāh 'Alī Sultān Chapanī is also mentioned in the Sharafnāma. "Chapanī" should be the name of a tribe—possibly Kurdish, but I find no mention of any Kurdish clan called Chapanī in the Sharafnāma or elsewhere. In one place Charmoy reads "Ḥusaini", but in his note prefers "Chapanī".

(4) *Guzil Dara*—to be distinguished from the place of the same name under Sultāniyya.

(5) *Chamishguzikī*. Chamishguzik is a town on the Euphrates.

(6) *Ūch Kilīsā*, (three churches)—a town in Armenia near Qāqizmān, with a renowned Armenian convent; the place is the scene of events in Morier's "Haji Baba".

(7) *Darwīsh Muḥammad* was the son of the Ḥasan Beg killed in 930 A.H.

(8) *Yazdikhāst* or Īzadkhwāst, is now a large village on the Shīrāz Iṣfahān road, famous for its extraordinary situation in the middle of a deep ravine, so that it is hardly visible till one is right upon it. It is illustrated in Malcolm's history, and in Curzon's Persia, which contains a full description of it.

(9) *Band-i-Amīr* or Band-i-'Azudī. ("Bendemeer's stream", Moorè) —a dam on the Kur river built by the Buwayhid Ruler of Fārs, 'Azudu'd-

dawla (338–372 A.H.) and repaired in the 6th century A.H. by the Atābeg Fakhrū'd-dawla Chāūlī. See also the Persian جغرافیای مفصل ایران, p. 92. The *White Fort* (قلعه سفید) was a league distant from the town of Nawbanjān, N.W. of Shirāz. It was taken by Tīmūr in 795 A.H.

(10) *The Mamasenī* are a tribe of Fārs Nomads, dwelling chiefly in the Shulistān District, but also to be found round Shāpūr.

(11) *Gumbad-i-Qābūs*. For a description of the ruins see Yate's *Khurasan and Sistan*, pp. 239–242. It was built about the end of the fourth century of the Hijra by Amīr Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qābūs bin Washm-gīr, Prince of Ṭabaristān, and grandfather of the author of the *Qābūs-nāma*.

(12) *Ashbār*. Appears later on as *Ashār* (A. اشعار); its exact locality is unknown to me; probably it is Ashiyār in Gharjistān, taken by the Mongols in 1223 A.D. (Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 455).

(13) *Bākharz*—the district W. and S.W. of Turbat-i-Haydarī.

(14) *Pul-i-Khātūn*—about 80 miles east of Mashhad, where the Kashf river joins the Harī Rūd. There was another *Pul-i-Khātūn* near Ṭehrān, built in memory of Zubayda wife of Hārūnu'r-rashid. (*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 218).

(15) *Hājī Beg Dumbalī*. The Chief of the Dumbalī Kurds was made Governor of Khūy by Ṭahmāsp. The headquarters of the Dumbalis was at Sukmānābād, a canton of Khūy; that of the Maḥmūdīs at Khushāb, south-east of Lake Wān.

(16) *Balilān*. The Balilāns were a Kurdish tribe settled near Lake Wān.

(17) *Sharīf-i-Tabrizī* was a pupil of Lisānī of Shirāz, to whom the author of the *Ātash Kada* considers him superior in art. See Browne, Vol. IV, p. 236.

## 956 A.H.

(1) *Surkhāb Kurd*. Surkhāb and Biga were two of the three sons of Ma'mūn Kurd of Ardalān. Biga Beg, after a long reign of more than forty years, died about 950 A.H. His son Ma'mūn succeeded, but was captured by Sulṭān Sulaymān's officers, and his principality (Shahrizūr and Zalam) was taken by his uncle Surkhāb, who added it to his own share. According to the *Sharafnāma* Ilqās asked Surkhāb to intercede with Ṭahmāsp for him and get him Shīrwān again. However the Shāh sent Ni'matullāh Quhistānī and others, and they brought Ilqās, who was sent to Qahqaha, and was next year (Rabi'ī 957 A.H., Jahān Ārā), by the Shāh's orders, thrown from the fort, and killed. In his *Diary* Ṭahmāsp says that he was murdered by certain persons whose fathers he had killed. The *Sharafnāma* adds that Ṭahmāsp agreed to pay Surkhāb a thousand tūmāns a year for his services, and did so.

(2) *The Qulzum Sea*, i.e. the Caspian; see notes on the text.



(3) *Tabit Āghā*, i.e. Kamālu'd-dīn Tabit Āghā (Khwar Shāh).

(4) *Sulaymān Beg Kurd*. The description is insufficient for the identification of this Sulaymān.

(5) *Dāwīlā*, on the Aras river, near Mt. Ararat.

(6) *Bahrām Mirzā* was born 923 A.H.; Ilqās 922 A.H.; Ṭahmāsp 919 A.H.; Sām Mirzā 923 A.H. According to the *Jahān Ārā Bahrām Mirzā*, when Governor of Hamadān and Khūzistān in 953 A.H. was reported to be disaffected. There were similar reports about Muḥammad Khān of Herāt. Both came to Court and removed the Shāh's doubts. Sām Mirzā appears to have died about the same time as Ṭahmāsp; I do not know why Ethé says he died young (p. 213, Catalogue B.L., Persian MSS.). Iskandar Munshī says he was sent to Qahqaha and died there.

## 957 A.H.

(1) *Burāq* or Norūz Aḥmad, son of Sūnjuk Khān and therefore cousin of Shaybak.

'*Abdu'l-latif*, son of Kūchum Khān, and another cousin of Shaybak Khān.

(2) *Shāh-i-zinda*. This may possibly be the grave of Khwāja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī; if so, see Mrs. Beveridge's note on p. 305 of the *Bāburnāma*, and Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*. There is a better known Shāh-i-zinda in Samarqand (see *Bāburnāma*, p. 75, and Schuyler's *Turkistan*, Vol. I, p. 247).

(3) *Biga Ardalān*. As already observed Biga Beg died about 950 A.H.; the name is therefore used in error, or perhaps as a dynastic name. Biga, Surkhāb, and Muḥammad, were the three sons of Ma'mūn Kurd of Ardalān. On the death of Biga Surkhāb had seized Shahrizūr and Zalam. His brother Muḥammad got Turkish assistance for an attempt to get these forts from Surkhāb. And Surkhāb applied to the Persians. The fighting that followed is what is here described. Biga must be Muḥammad bin Ma'mūn. The river Tulwār is not given in the maps. I found it mentioned in the *Ḥabibu's-siyar* as the scene of hunting, or fishing, during a march of Īsmā'il from near Hamadān to Marāgha. Also, in another place, as passing through the districts of Sāwa and Hamadān—در حدود ساوة و همدان برود تلوار.

(4) *Zalam*—written زلم, ظلم, and ظالم, Charmoy states that it was the name of a hill fort near Shahrizūr, named from زلم, which is a plant growing there used for the preparation of a certain aphrodisiac.

(5) *Tarkūr and Markūr*. Tarkūr was a district near Julamarg. Markūr may perhaps be an error for Markawa (مرکوة or مرکوة), a Sanjaq of Shahrizūr.

## 958 A.H.

(1) *The Shāh's expedition to Shakī*. According to the Georgian Chronicles Darwīsh Muḥammad (son of Ḥasan Beg of Shakī, killed in 930 A.H.) and Lawāsān got Lawand to join them against the Shāh. But Ṭahmāsp managed to detach Lawand from this alliance, and Lawand came to Qarā Bāgh, and was received and sent with Persian forces to Shīrwān. But he was overcome by Darwīsh Muḥammad. The Chronicles date this 1548 A.D., i.e. 956 A.H. Shāh Ṭahmāsp then marched on Shīrwān. Darwīsh Muḥammad attacked the Persians, but was defeated and besieged in Gulistān fort. Lawand was sent to carry on the siege, and he caught Darwīsh Muḥammad when he tried to escape from the citadel, and brought his head to the Shāh, who rewarded him and let him return to Kakheti (Brosset). "Kūsa Par Qulī", who actually caught Darwīsh Muḥammad, is called in the Sharafnāma "Kūsa Pīr 'Alī", and in the Jahān Ārā "Kūsa Sar Qulī".

(2) *Third expedition to Georgia* (958 A.H., 1551 A.D.). The Georgian Chronicles put this in 1553 A.D., and say that the places taken were Thmogar, Wan, Aspindza, Warentha, and all the citadels of Samtzkhe, which the Shāh gave to Kaykhusraw. Ījū, Shīr Māzān, and Wākhushṭ, surrendered, and were killed; and Amowan (Amān Beg) was taken prisoner (Brosset). The Ta'rikh-i-Ālam-Ārāy-i-Abbāsi follows the Aḥsan as usual, though there are differences in the names of places. It appears to read Ardanūj for Ardanūh.

(3) *Aznāwars*—see notes on the text.

(4) *An ambassador came from the King of Portugal* (1550-51 A.D.). John III (1502-1557 A.D.) was the King of Portugal; it was a period when Portuguese embassies were sent far and wide. This embassy is also mentioned as a noteworthy event in the Sharafnāma. The Sharafnāma adds that this year plague broke out in the Qizilbāsh camp.

## 959 A.H.

(1) *Ma'sūm Beg Safawī* is prominent from now till his murder by the Arabs. He was originally Mutawallī of Ardabil, and was, according to the Silsilatu'n-nasab, a grandson of the brother of Shekh Ḥaydar (Ismā'il's father).

(2) *Shamsu'd-dīn Khān*, the father of the author of the Sharafnāma.

(3) *Khalīfa-i-Anṣār*. The name of this person, who is frequently mentioned, appears to be nowhere given. He was Governor of Qarāja Dāgh (Sharafnāma). Charmoy translates 'le Khalifa des chrétiens'.

(4) *Bukhtī*. The Bukhtis were a Kurdish tribe of Diyārbakr and Wān.

(5) *Wān*, etc. These towns are all close together; Kawāsh and Albāq were forts of the Ḥakkārī Kurds; Khushāb, the centre of the Maḥmūdīs.

(6) *Bayāt*. Malcolm has a long note on the Turkish tribe of Bayāt (vide Vol. II, p. 218).

(7) *Bitlis*, or *Bidlīs*. For a picturesque description of Bitlis, see Mrs. Bishop's 'Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan', Vol. II, p. 350. According to the Sharafnāma the legend ran that Alexander had something growing out of his head, like a cow's horn; and the physicians could not cure it. When he stayed at the place where Bitlis is, it grew better, and he ordered his slave, one Bidlīs, to found a city and a fort there, so strong that he, Alexander himself, could not take it. Amīr Sharaf of the Rūzakī clan of Kurds—so called because it was formed 'in one day' from an amalgamation of twenty-four small Kurdish 'qabilas'—was hereditary chieftain of Bitlis.

Of other literary men belonging to Bitlis, we have already mentioned Mawlānā Idrīs son of Ḥusāmu'd-dīn, the author of the Hasht Bihisht.

(8) *Kabīr 'Īsā*. A reads كبر عيسى (Gabr.). It is doubtful whether all these Chiefs were taken, or whether there is an omission in the MS., and some were killed and the ones last mentioned captured.

(9) *Pahlawān Qulī Sultān*—one of the sons of Ṣūfiyān Khān bin Muḥammad Amīn: see genealogical tree.

(10) *Hājīm Sultān*, i.e. Hājī Muḥammad bin Ūgutāy Khān bin Muḥammad Amīn (see genealogical tree). He succeeded, about this time, as Ruler of Khwārazm. See note on 945 A.H. (5). The name Ūgutāy is doubtful. It reads اعطای، اعطای، عطای. Lane-Poole says 'Akatay'; Vambéry, Agatai.

## 960 A.H.

(1) *Sultān Muṣṭafā*. The Jahān Ārā says that Rustam, the Grand Wazīr, fearing Muṣṭafā, poisoned the Sultān's mind and caused him to order his son's death, just as he was setting out for Persia.

(2) *Qāzī-i-Jahān*, born 11th Muḥarram 888, died 17th Zi'l-hijja 960 A.H. (Jahān Ārā), and buried at the Imāmzāda of Shāhzāda Ḥusayn at Qazwīn. According to the Ātash Kada (in a passage dealing with his son Mirzā Sharaf) he was a descendant of a Sayyid Sayfu'd-dīn, who was well known in the days of the Īlkhān Ūljāytū, and was one of the Ḥusaynī Sayyids of Qazwīn. His name does not appear in any of the authorities that I have been able to consult; he is always simply called Qāzī-i-Jahān.

(3) *Shāhzāda Ḥusayn*. This is a shrine in Qazwīn, belonging to Ḥusayn infant son of the Imām 'Alī bin Mūsā ar-Riżā. It is mentioned in the Ta'rikh-i-guzida and the Nuzhatu'l-qulūb and other works (see Le Strange's translation of the Nuzhat, p. 64).

## 961 A.H.

(1) *The Turks conquer Shahrizūr*. According to this account the first attack on Shahrizūr by 'Uṣmān, Pāshā of Aleppo, was unsuccessful.

The Sharafnāma says that Zalam was relieved by forces under Ḥusayn Beg sent by Ṭahmāsp. But Uṣmān afterwards took Shahrizūr, as related further on. Since then it has been Turkish territory—till lately.

(2) *Bāzār Chāyī* (Chāyī=river) is a tributary of the Aras.

(3) *Ūltī*. The MSS. readings are various. Ūltī is about 50 miles W. of Qārs.

(4) *Fourth expedition to Georgia* (961 A.H., 1553 A.D.). According to Iskandar Munshī, after the peace with Turkey, part of Georgia was left to the Turks, and part to the Persians—Karthli being in the Persian sphere. Louarsab (Lawāsān), who had fled to the hills, sought occasion to return to his own capital, and made attacks on the Tiflis country. This led to Ṭahmāsp's expedition against him, and the attack on Gori was followed by the siege of Markandub—Martqoqh (Brosset), Mazrūt (Aḥsan). Pharsadan Beg, the commandant, surrendered. Other details follow the Aḥsan. Wākhushṭ dates this expedition 1558 A.D. The fort, the name of which is omitted in the Aḥsan, is called Amadi in the Ta'rikh-i-Ālam-Ārāy-i-Abbāsī. Brosset quotes Dorn as identifying the place with Ateni.

(5) *Barda'*. Barbier de Meynard says this place is nine leagues from Ganja. It was the chief town of the province of Arrān. It is given among the towns of the fifth clime in the Haft Iqlīm. It was attacked by Timūr after crossing the Kur river in his Georgian expedition of 788 A.H.

(6) *Mariwān*—about 50 miles W.N.W. of Sinna on the Perso-Kurdish border.

(7) *Sulaymān Shāh bin Shīr Shāh*. The MSS. seem to have got this name wrong: it was Islām Shāh who died this year, after a reign of nine years.—Shīr Shāh, his father, having died in 952 A.H. The Gujarāt sovereign was Maḥmūd Shāh III, who succeeded in 944 A.H. The Nizāmshāhī monarch was the Burhān mentioned above; he had reigned since 914 A.H.; this dynasty is known as Baḥrī, so that there is no reason to doubt the reading Baḥrī, as Browne does in quoting Qāsim's lines (Vol. IV, p. 169).

(8) *Mawlānā Ḥayratī* of Astarābād has been mentioned as the poet who was patronized by the unfortunate Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, also as writing verse in honour of Humāyūn at Mashhad. He is mentioned in most biographies of poets, e.g. Safina, Khazāna-i-Āmira. The Haft Iqlīm agrees as to the date of his death, but the Ātash Kada says 970 A.H., and the Safina 989 A.H.

## 962 A.H.

(1) *Ubā*. The first syllable is pointed with Zamma in the Bodleian Sharafnāma. He was Chief of the Ukhū tribe of Turkmāns.

(2) *Humāyūn's war with Sultān Iskandar*. Iskandar was in possession

of the Punjāb ; for his history and the fighting between various claimants for the rule over northern India see the standard Indian histories.

(3) *Married Prince Ismā'īl*. See notes on the text. The Sharaf-nāma says :—

دختر شاه نعمت الله ثانی را که از خواهر شاه طهماسب متولد شده بود جهة  
اسمعیل میرزا پسر خود خواستگاری نموده و طوی عظیم فرمود

(4) 'Alī Tātī Ūghatī, now made Governor of Shīrāz, had been appointed to Mashhad in 958 A.H. (Jahān Ārā).

(5) *Amīr Tīmūr Gūrgān*. The title Gūrgān indicates connection by marriage with the house of Chingīz Khān. It is the equivalent of 'dāmād'; it was given to Tīmūr because he married Tūrkān Khātun, sister of Amīr Ḥusayn, Prince of Turkistān. Charmoy quotes the authority of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī for the statement that the word is written with two Persian 'g's. The Ghiyāṣu'l-lughāt writes کورگان. But see however the long note in Elias' Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī, pp. 278-280. Tīmūr, in fact, married two women who were of the house of Chingīz Khān.

(6) *Mawlānā Qāsim Gāhī* was a Sayyid of Samarqand, whose name was Najmu'd-dīn Muḥammad, and 'kuniyat' Abū'l-Qāsim. According to the Haft Iqlīm he entered the service of the poet Jāmī when fifteen years of age. Later he went to India, and settled at Benares, whence he proceeded to Agra, where he lived and died, commonly believed to be a hundred and ten years old at his death. He was an athlete and musician, as well as a poet, and so well thought of by the Mughal Court that orders were passed that he should be paid Rs. 1,000 whenever he came to Court. Gāhī (Kāhī ?) seems clearly a place name: perhaps of some village near Samarqand. The chronogram giving the date of Humāyūn's death, which is quoted in the text, is one of the best known chronograms we have.

(7) *Bayrām Khān Bahārlū*. According to the writer of the Bodleian MS. mentioned in connection with Humāyūn's visit to Persia Bayrām (bin Sayf 'Alī Beg bin Bārīk Beg bin Pīr 'Alī Beg bin 'Alī Shukr Beg) was made a Khān by Humāyūn for the skill he showed in certain feats of archery (قادر اندازی and تقق را به نیز زدن) before the Shāh. The tribe of 'Alī Shukr Beg was the Bahārlū—a branch of the Black Sheep Turk-māns. When Mīrzā Jahānshāh was defeated by Uzūn Ḥasan (in 871 A.H.) 'Alī Shukr Beg's sons fled from Hamadān to Khurāsān, and Pīr 'Alī joined Mīrzā Abū Bakr bin Mīrzā Sultān Abū Sa'id, who was soon after defeated, captured, and put to death by Sultān Ḥusayn. Pīr 'Alī, accompanied by his son Bārīk, went from Khurāsān to Badakhshān, and took service with Sultān Maḥmūd bin Sultān Abū Sa'id. Later on Sayf 'Alī Beg joined Bābur, and his son Bayrām was born at Kābul. Bārīk Beg is called Yār 'Alī Beg Balāl by Bābur (Bāburnāma, p. 91); he was grandfather of Bayrām Khān (p. 109).

Among the deaths of 962 A.H., the Aḥsan (naturally perhaps) does not mention Amīr Yahyā bin 'Abdu'l-laṭf al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī, the author of the Lubbu't-tawārikh, who died in prison (as a Sunnī) at Iṣfahān, aged 77.

## 963 A.H.

(1) *Fort Kūsh*; perhaps the Kīsh fort mentioned before; exact locality unknown to me.

(2) *Lawāsān*.... died (963 A.H., 1555-56 A.D.). This is a couple of years before the date given in the Georgian Chronicles (1558 A.D.). There the person who killed Lawāsān (Louarsab) is called Zīrak. Brosset writes (from the Georgian Chronicles):—"Comme Louarsab se précipitait sur un autre ennemi, son cheval heurte contre une asperité du sol, et il roule avec sa monture. Alors un Persan, nommé Zīrak, frappe le roi d'un coup de sabre et le blesse grièvement, tandis que le Géorgiens exterminaient complètement leurs adversaires."

(3) *Qalāṭī* (or Qalhāṭī), i.e. from Qalhāt on the coast of Arabia—visited by Barbosa the Portuguese traveller early in the fifteenth century. (Vide Wilson, Early Spanish and Portuguese Travellers in Persia).

(4) *Daryāwuk*—near Qazwīn. For the events connected with Prince Ismā'il, see below [984 A.H. (5)]. In addition to the events of 963 A.H. recorded here, the Jahān Ārā and Sharafnāma both state that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, son of Bahrām Mirzā, was married to Gohar Sulṭān Khānam, the Shāh's daughter, and was sent to Khurāsān to govern Mashhad and Tūs. The 'repentance' of the Chiefs is mentioned by all three histories, and the verses which commemorate it.

(5) *Burāq Khān*. Vambéry strangely says that Burāq was son of Maḥmūd bin Yūnus Khān Chaghatāy.

(6) *Shāhrukhīyya*. The town of this name is said to have been founded by Tīmūr in 794 A.H. near the site of the ancient Binākat (Fanākat) in honour of his son Shāh Rukh (Zafarnāma, Vol. II, p. 636). Miyānkāl is the province between Bukhārā and Samarqand, which included the town of Karmina. Bābur (Bāburnāma, p. 76) says that on the north of Samarqand are Tāshkand and Shāhrukhīyya—Shāsh and Binākat. In the Zafarnāma we find: —تاشکنت که فردوسی در شاهنامه آنرا: بهشت کبک خوانده و چاچ و شاش نیز گویند (Calcutta Ed., Vol. I, p. 166).

The Shāhrukhīyya district was the territory stretching from near modern Tāshkand to some point north of Samarqand.

(7) *Rashīd Khān*, i.e. 'Abdu'r-rashīd bin Sulṭān Sa'īd bin Sulṭān Aḥmad bin Yūnus Khān, after whom the Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī is named.

(8) *Mīr Shamsu'd-dīn Asadullāh* was, according to the Jahān Ārā, born 888 A.H., and died this year at Tabriz, and was buried at Mashhad. He left a son, Mīr Zaynu'd-dīn 'Alī, in charge of the Ṣadārat.

(9) *The Lord of Command*, i.e. the last Imām, who is to reappear some day.

## 964 A.H.

(1) *Haydar Beg Anis* bin Ustād Shekhī Tūbchī (gunner) is mentioned as a poet in the *Safina*. Both Qāzī and Gunner's son died at Alamūt (Jahān Ārā).

(2) *ʿAbdullāh Khān* was grandson, not son, of Jānī Beg; his father being Iskandar bin Jānī Beg. Vambéry describes him as, "A man who well deserves the title of the greatest of the Sheibanides".

(3) *Burhān Sa'id*. Vambéry says "he was treacherously murdered by a certain Mirzaki Kushdji (bird catcher)". There have been several instances in this Chronicle of the prevalence of this disgusting vice among the Persian and Turkī Chiefs of this time. See *Bāburnāma*, p. 45. However the *Ta'rikh-i-badī'a* gives a somewhat different version. It says that Burhān reigned for six years in Bukhārā; the Chiefs, disgusted at his cruelty, sent Mirza Āghā Qūshchī to the palace, and he with other young men, enticed Burhān out and attacked him. Burhān tried to climb back into the castle, but fell and was killed (964 A.H.).

(4) *Dūst Khān*. See genealogical tree, and note on 945 A.H. (5).

(5) *Kāmrān Mīrzā*. According to the *Haft Iqlīm* the Chaghatāy nobles represented that sedition would not stop till Kāmrān was killed. To satisfy them Humāyūn had him blinded. He left an only son, Abū'l-Qāsim, who died in prison at Gwalior in 973 A.H., as indicated by the following: —نماند از کامران نام و نشانی. See also the account of Kāmrān's blinding in the *Humāyūnnāma* of Gulbadan Begam (Mrs. Beveridge's translation, being Vol. XIII, Oriental Translation Fund, p. 201).

## 965 A.H.

(1) *A flood at Qazwīn*. The *Ta'rikh-i-guzīda* says that Qazwīn was liable to floods owing to the river which flows through it.

(2) *Mawlānā Muhtasham* died 966 A.H., as stated, with authorities, by Ethé (Persian MSS. of the India Office, No. 1447).

(3) *Murder of Ubā*. The *Ta'rikh-i-Ālam-Ārāy-i-Abbāsī* states that the woman was married to Ubā against her wish.

(4) *Shekh Zaynu'd-dīn Jabal 'Āmilī*—of Jabal 'Āmil in Syria. See Browne, Vol. IV, p. 360. Zaynu'd-dīn is called by the Jahān Ārā the Shāh's 'Pish Namāz'. Jabal 'Āmil is near Damascus.

(5) *Shekh-i-shahīd*, i.e. Shekh Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad; vide notes on the text.

## 966 A.H.

(1) *Sultān Bāyazīd*. Hammer-Purgstall says that Bāyazīd annoyed his father by certain acts of insubordination, and the Sultān considered

it unsafe to leave him at Kūtāhiya, which was regarded as the key to Syria and Egypt, and ordered his transfer to Amāsia. The account given by the Aḥsan is corroborated in the main by the Sharafnāma and Jahān Ārā, although the former makes no mention of a battle near Qoniya. It would appear that Bāyazīd's letter after the battle was not allowed to reach the Sultān. Regarding subsequent events the Jahān Ārā and Sharafnāma support the Aḥsan as to Bāyazīd's alleged plotting against the Shāh. It is fair to add that Bāyazīd's force appears to have been formidable. The Sharafnāma says there were nearly 10,000 men. But Hammer-Purgstall says that there were treacherous designs to excite the Shāh's fear, and make him more ready to hand over Bāyazīd. Thus Muḥammad 'Arab, who, according to the Jahān Ārā, was a Trebizond Shī'a who had been sent to Māzandarān, treacherously whispered to Ṭahmāsp, "Beware of a son, who has betrayed his father; he is capable of shooting you too". This view of the case certainly seems likely to be true. It is hard to imagine what Bāyazīd could expect to gain by treachery towards the Shāh. His correct move was plainly to conciliate his host, and ingratiate himself. But Ṭahmāsp was a mean and cowardly man. The author of the Jahān Ārā was in Qazwīn, and saw the first meeting of the Shāh and Prince from the roof of a house. He observed how Ṭahmāsp trembled and repeated the "Āyatu'l-Kūrsi", when he saw himself among the Turkish troopers, while his own qūrchīs were two arrow flights away. It would take very little to make the Shāh commit the act of surrender. Even apart from any personal fear for his own life, he was afraid of the Sultān and very ready to fall in with his wishes. He saw the possibility of some substantial reward for his services. Hammer-Purgstall says that the Shāh several times asked for Baghdād for his son in return for the surrender of Bāyazīd. The Sharafnāma says that, when Bāyazīd was handed over to 'Alī Pāshā of Mar'ash, Ṭahmāsp said, "I expect some kindness for the service I have rendered for the Sultān's sake"; by which he meant Baghdād for his son Ḥaydar Mīrzā. Ṭahmāsp's Diary confirms this.

Bāyazīd was in captivity in Qazwīn for two years. When he and his sons were killed their bodies were buried, by the Sultān's order, at Siwās. The chronogram for the murder is particularly neat—پنج کم از زمرۀ عثمانیان (= 974 - 5 = 969 A.H.). The Sharafnāma says that Bāyazīd and his sons were put to death in the Maydān-i-Asb in Qazwīn, in the very place where, a few years later, several sons of Ṭahmāsp were executed by Ismā'il II. Presents given to the Shāh in this occasion were 4,00,000 florins from the Sultān, 1,00,000 florins from Salīm, which were equivalent to 30,000 tūmāns.

## 967 A.H.

(1) *Ṭigā Chāshnīgār*. The text seems to read Chashmī Gabr, but



I think it must be Chāshnigir as it is in the Jahān Ārā and Sharafnāma. Chāshnigir = 'taster'.

(2) *Sārū Qūrghān*. I find no other mention of this Uzbek Chief.

(3) *Īsā Khān*. The Jahān Ārā gives the following chronogram :— عيسى لوند شد مسلمان از صدق (967 A.H.). The Sharafnāma says that 'Īsā was Governor of Zakam, and when he was converted he was given Shakī. According to the Georgian Chronicles 'Īsā was sent by Lawān his father to the Shāh in 1558 A.D., and (on his conversion) was given the daughter of Sām Mirzā.

Under this year the Sharafnāma records the deaths of Ḥasan Beg Yūzbāshī, and Ḥusayn Beg Ustājilū. For the latter the chronogram was نفعون ثانی, as he was a tyrant.

## 968 A.H.

(1) *Mirzā Sharaf*, son of *Qāzī-i-Jahān*. See remarks on *Qāzī-i-Jahān*. A poem by Sharaf is quoted in the Ātash Kada.

(2) *Rustam Pāshā* was a Croat; he was twice Grand Wazīr, being superseded by Aḥmad Pāshā in 1553 A.D., and again appointed on Aḥmad's execution in 1555. His successor, 'Alī Pāshā, died in 1565 A.D., and was followed by Muḥammad Sokolli (assassinated 987 A.H.).

## 969 A.H.

(1) *Sultānam*, or Mihīn Bānū, was the princess who interceded for Humāyūn. She was buried at the Imāmzāda Ḥusayn.

Others who died this year, according to the Jahān Ārā, were Sūnduk Beg Qūrchibāshī (over 90 years old) and Yādgar-i-Muḥammad Beg Tarkhān Mawṣilū bin Marjamak Sultān bin Amīr Khān, Governor of Sāwa.

## 970 A.H.

(1) *Īsā Khān*. The Jahān Ārā says 'Īsā was tempted to return to the Christian faith by Aznāwars "who were wont to drink wine and eat the flesh of swine".

(2) *Ashrafis*. These are the "florins", mentioned in the note on Bāyazīd above. "The Ottoman florin was a gold coin of the approximate value of 9 shillings" (Gibbs, quoted by Browne, Vol. III, p. 423, note).

## 971 A.H.

(1) *Sultān Maḥmūd Khān*, Governor of Bakar. Maḥmūd was a foster-brother of Shāh Ḥusayn Arghūn; Bhakkar, a fort in the Indus opposite the town of Sukkur, then the chief town of Upper Sind.

(2) *Khānīsh Khānam* was born, according to the Jahān Ārā, in 912 A.H., and married to Shāh Ni'matullāh. Her body was taken to Karbalā, but not buried there, owing to certain difficulties, but brought

back and buried at Hamadān. The Sharafnāma says that Shāh Ni'matullāh intended to go on pilgrimage to Mecca via Baghdād. But Khusraw Pāshā, the Mir-i-Mirān, refused to let him go, and he went to Karbalā, and on his way died at Hamadān.

## 972 A.H.

(1) *He died*—from dropsy according to the Jahān Ārā. The Sharafnāma says that when Ma'sūm Beg saw Qazāq he fell to joking, telling the men to get a horse ready so that the Khān could go and meet the princes. And Qazāq said that, if he could have ridden, Ma'sūm would not have dared to joke thus. So they put him in a palanquin, and sent him off. But he died while in Ma'sūm's charge; some say he was strangled. The chronogram given is:— (972 A.H.)

قتلش چو بود باعث معموری هری تاریخ قتل او شد معموری هرات

The Sharafnāma says that Qazāq offended by refusing to join in the expedition against Abiward. But the Aḥsan puts this expedition in the following year (973 A.H.).

(2) *The wars in the Deccan.* Chandrāy appears to be used as a general name for a Hindu monarch. Rāmā Rājā was the Lord of Bijanagar. A league was made against him by 'Alī 'Ādilshāh of Bijāpur, Nizāmshāh of Aḥmadnagar, and the kings of Golconda and Bidar. The battle was fought in 1564 A.D. at Tālikōt on the Krishna river. Bijānagar was completely destroyed by the Moslems, and is now uninhabited.

(3) *Pahlawān Qamarī.* The name is given both by the Jahān Ārā and by the Sharafnāma; the latter says he was one of 'Alī Sultān's nobles (اعیان). The Jahān Ārā says the Uzbeks had taken Khabūshān; and given it to Mir Shahriyār, 'Alī Sultān's Wazīr.

(4) "*Transit dues*". The Sharafnāma and Jahān Ārā say that the Shāh saw the last Imām in a dream, and made this reform in consequence. Charmoy translates the Sharafnāma thus:—"Il abolit et fit biffer des registres des finances les droits de douane (tamgha) des ses états". See notes on text. From this point we have no longer the assistance of the Jahān Ārā, whose author died in 975 A.H., after returning from pilgrimage to the Holy Places. Note that the Jahān Ārā contains events up to 972 A.H., although it is supposed to have been finished in 971, according to the chronogram furnished by its title, نسخ جهان آرا. The Sharafnāma adds, for this year, that Prince Muḥammad Khudābanda was married to a daughter of Mir 'Abdullāh of Māzandarān.

## 974 A.H.

(1) *The fort of Vienna.* The Persian is بیج. Charmoy reads "Bach" (ایالت بیج), translating Austria. I am not sure that Vienna is right.

## 975 A.H.

(1) *Khān Aḥmad* was the son of Sultān Ḥasan, whose death was recorded under 943 A.H.; Ḥasan was grandson of a man of the same name who was brother of the Kār Kiyā Mirzā 'Alī who befriended Ismā'il in his childhood at Lāhijān. Khān Aḥmad was an infant one year old when his father was killed.

After his capture he was sent, as recorded by the Aḥsan, to Qahqaha, but he was soon transferred to Istakhr, because, according to the Sharaf-nāma, he made friends with Prince Ismā'il who was imprisoned at Qahqaha, or, according to Iskandar Munshī, in order to make him more comfortable. Iskandar quotes verses of lamentation sent by Aḥmad from Qahqaha:—

از گردش چرخ وازگون میگیرم      از جور زمانه بین که چون میگیرم  
با ساعر دهر چون صراحی شب و روز      در قهقهه ام و لیک خون میگیرم

He remained in prison for ten years. From Istakhr Khān Aḥmad made constant petitions, but they were disregarded till Muḥammad Khudābanda became Shāh, when he was released and came to Qazwīn (985 A.H.), and was given Shāh Ṭahmāsp's daughter Maryam Begam in marriage, and allowed to return to Gilān. There he came into collision with Qarā Bahādur, Jamshīd's general. For this, and further particulars, see 'Abdu'l-fattāḥ Fūmanī's *Ta'rikh-i-Gilān*, printed in Dorn's *Muhammedanische Quellen*. The *Sharafnāma* gives as one reason for Ṭahmāsp's displeasure with Khān Aḥmad the fact that for twenty years of the Shāh's stay at Qazwīn Aḥmad never came to pay his respects, not even when Bāyazīd was at Qazwīn, although that city is only two or three days journey from Lāhijān, the capital of Biya Pish, of which Aḥmad was Chief.

(2) *His sister's son Jamshīd*. Jamshīd was grandson of Muẓaffar Sultān (Amira Dubbāj) and of the Shāh's sister. His father was Maḥmūd; he was born at Qazwīn, and was favoured and educated by the Shāh, and betrothed to a daughter of Ṭahmāsp (*Sharafnāma* and *Ta'rikh-i-Gilān*). 'Abdu'l-fattāḥ Fūmanī says that when he was sent to Gilān he was ten years old. According to Rabino's article in *J.R.A.S.*, 1918 (p. 96) Khān Aḥmad instigated the poisoning of Maḥmūd. Moreover there appears to have been trouble as to the possession of Kūchisfān, the Rulers of Biya Pas and Biya Pish each claiming that town. Jamshīd was eventually put to death by his Minister Kāmraṇ Mirzā Kūhdumī in 989 A.H.; presumably this is the Kāmraṇ Mirzā mentioned in the text.

(3) *The castle of Kharsak*. Khirs is mentioned in the *Nuzhatu'l-qulūb* as a place under Khūy.

## 976 A.H.

(1) *Simon Beg is taken.* According to the Georgian Chronicles, Dāūd Beg, Simon's brother—a debauched and pleasure loving man—was converted to Islām and received by Ṭahmāsp. With a Persian army he entered Tiflis. But in 1567 A.D. he was attacked by Simon, and besieged in Tiflis. He sent for help to Ḥusayn (Ḥusām ?) Beg Qarā-mānlū. Eventually Simon was captured, and taken before Ṭahmāsp, who tried to make him a Moslem; but he refused to accept Islām, and was sent to Alamūt, where he remained for nine years; 'Īsā Khān had already been imprisoned in this fort. Both these Georgians appear to have been free soon after Ṭahmāsp's death, for they both appeared at the Court of Ismā'il II. Brosset (from the Georgian Chronicles) says that Ismā'il II "fit venir le roi Swimon".

(2) *Ma'sūm Beg Şafawī.* According to the Sharafnāma it was reported to the Sultān that Ma'sūm Beg was dissatisfied at not receiving recognition of his services in Khurāsān and Gilān, and was making pilgrimage an excuse for collecting Şūfis in Turkish territory and causing trouble. So the Sultān ordered Darwīsh Pāshā, Mīr-i-Mīrān of Syria, to proceed against him. Darwīsh Pāshā sent two hundred Arabs to join Ma'sūm Beg's caravan and kill him. They seized an opportunity of attacking him when he got out of his 'kajāwa' for prayers, and killed him.

## 977 A.H.

(1) *Jirūn*, i.e. the island of Ormuz. But this island was at the time under Portuguese sway, and Jirūn probably here means the mainland near Bandar 'Abbās (Gombroon). Herbert writes:—"West of Larr is Jaaroon, twenty farsangs (or threescore English miles) thence: it is a town consisting of a thousand Jewish families".

Of the forts mentioned Shamūl must be Ḥiṣār-i-Shāmīl taken in Tīmūr's expedition (Zafarnāma).

## 978 A.H.

(1) *Cyprus.* Creasy (History of Turkey, Vol. I, p. 347) writes:—"Cyprus had been at one time under Mahomedan rule; and the Turkish authorities now proclaimed that the sovereign of Islam may at any time break a treaty for the sake of reconquering from the misbelievers a country, which has formerly belonged to the territory of Islam". It was the Muftī Abū Sa'ūd who declared that peace with infidels could not be sanctioned by the law of Islām, except when favourable to Islām; urging that the Prophet in 6 A.H. signed a treaty for ten years, but judged it well to break his treaty a year later to attack the infidels and reconquer Mecca. The result of Turkey's applying this mischievous

doctrine to the case of Cyprus was to band the Christian powers against her, and it led to the battle of Lepanto, so fatal to Turkish naval prestige.

(2) *Yatan*, i.e. Marco Antonio Bragadino. For the faithless and cruel execution of this brave man see Hammer-Purgstall's History. It has made Muṣṭafā Pāshā Lala's name infamous for ever.

(3) '*Askarī Khān*. The Tatār Chiefs of the Crimea had been Turkish tributaries since 1478 A.D. The Girāy family were descended from Chingiz Khān, and the Chief at this time was Dawlat Girāy, son of Mubārak Girāy. Dawlat Girāy was recognized as Khān of Astrakhān in 952 A.H., and soon after as Khān of the Crimea. It is not clear to me why our author attributes these and subsequent events to 'Askarī Khān, who was, he says, father of Dawlat Girāy. No person named 'Askarī Khān is known to me.

The Khān of Kaffa (Theodosia) was Qāsim Pāshā. The project of uniting the Don and Volga was one of the schemes of Muḥammad Sokollī, the Turkish Grand Wazīr, but it was originally suggested by Qāsim. According to Hammer-Purgstall 3,000 Janissaries and 20,000 horse were sent to Astrakhān (Hājī Tarkhān), and 5,000 Janissaries and 3,000 workmen to Azov, in 977 A.H. 30,000 Tatārs were ordered to join the Janissaries and besiege Astrakhān. They were attacked by 15,000 Russians under Sérébianov, and the garrison also made a sortie. The Tatār army was destroyed. Dawlat Girāy was against the project, and spread tales about its inadvisability; the whole plan thus failed. See also the Journal of the Royal Asian Society, 1931, p. 324. The Volga-Don Ship Canal is now a Soviet project. In the neighbourhood of Stalingrad only a short distance separates the Volga and Don. Muḥammad Sokollī's "plan failed for military reasons, but its inception shows its possibility; and it is interesting to note that its sponsor then turned his attention to a possible Suez Canal". "It was the disastrous attack on Astrakhān.....that first brought the Turks into collision with the Russians."

## 979 A.H.

(1) *Muṭahhar Lang*. For the expedition against Muṭahhar bin Sharafu'd-dīn Sa'idiyya and the capture of Kawkabān fort see Hammer-Purgstall (Hellert's French Edition, Ch. XXXV). The date given by that historian is 977 A.H.; and in the Jahān Numā, according to Charmoy, 976 A.H.

(2) *Ulugh Beg*, i.e. Ivan the Terrible.

(3) *Qulūmūla*. I cannot identify; the reading may be corrupt. There was a large Russian force in Moscow, but no battle took place owing to the great fire, which destroyed the whole town except the Kremlin.

(4) *Gharīblū*. A reads Gharīblur; B and J Gharīblū; so does the Sharafnāma, Charmoy translating "étranger".

(5) *Kaskar*. Dorn and Rabino write Gaskar; Charmoy and others Kaskar, quoting the Jahān Numā to the effect that the place was a big town on the sea-shore three days journey east of Ardabil and one day north of Daylam. The modern form is Gasgar.

(6) *Kisam*. Kisam and Kūka were, according to Iskandar Munshi, one stage from Lāhijān.

## 980 A.H.

(1) *A.H.* 980. In addition to the events described for 979 A.H.. the Sharafnāma relates a curious story about the loss of one gold and one silver bar (brick) from the treasures at Qahqaha fort. The Kotwāl of the fort reported that Ismā'il Mirzā had committed the robbery, and an inquiry was started. Ḥusayn Qulī Khalīfa Rūmlū and Walī Khalīfa Shāmlū took Ismā'il's part, and Pīr Muḥammad Ustājilū and Khalīfa-i-Anṣār, Governor of Qarā Dāgh, the Kotwāl's. Both sides came to Qazwin and disputed in unseemly manner before the Shāh. And this originated the dissensions among the Chiefs, which culminated in the fighting after Ṭahmāsp's death. The Sharafnāma also records the death of Amīr Ghayb Beg; but, perhaps naturally, it ignores the Turkish defeat at Lepanto.

(2) *Alī Pāshā* Muazzinzāda was the Turkish "Capitan pasha".

(3) *Injīl*. Injirli is the island of Nisyros, but probably some island in the Gulf of Patras is intended.

(4) *Qarā Khwāja* was sent to reconnoitre. "The pirate Cara Goggia offered the Turkish Commander to inspect the Christian Armada and to count its ships, which he achieved with such skill that he suffered no damage" (Fugger News-Letters, Ed. Victor Kharwell, in the description of Lepanto).

(5) *Qilīj 'Alī*, formerly known as Ulūj 'Alī, Dey of Algiers. "The Sultān changed his original name Ouloudj into Kilij, which means 'The Sword'" (Creasy, Vol. I, p. 355). This was after Lepanto. Qilīj 'Alī "was born in Calabria, and was kidnapped as a child by Turkish pirates, and was, like many other renegades, a rabid persecutor of Christianity" (Fugger News-Letters). Among the men wounded at Lepanto was Cervantes, who lost an arm.

(6) *Sakka, Sitna*. I cannot identify these names. The battle was at Molodi, 50 versts from Moscow.

## 981 A.H.

(1) *Akbar takes Gujarāt*. 'Itimād Khān, a former Hindū slave, was in power in Gujarāt, having made Muḥaffar, a supposed son of

Maḥmūd II of Gujarāt, nominal king. In consequence of confusion in the province 'Itimād called Akbar, who marched to Patan and received the submission of Muẓaffar. Husayn Mirzā, a descendant of the Tīmūrid Sulṭān Mirzā who had come to India with Bābur, raised a rebellion, and Akbar hurried back to Gujarāt and put down the disturbances. See Elphinstone's *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 507. Elphinstone correctly dates these events 980 A.H. A detailed account may be found in 'Alī Muḥammad Khān's *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi*; vide Bird's translation, p. 301, et seq. It is said that the victory (faṭḥ) of Gujarāt gave its name to Akbar's new city—Fatehpūr Sikrī.

## 982 A.H.

(1) *Don Sebastian* was the grandson and successor of John III of Portugal (1554–1578 A.D.). He was killed in battle against the King of Morocco, 'Abdu'l-malik, at Al-kaṣr-al-kabīr in 1578 A.D.

(2) *Sulṭān Salīm*. The genealogy down to Qizil Buqā is given also in the *Hasht Bihišt* and *Sharafnāma*, and no doubt in many other works. And the *Sharafnāma* agrees also as to Ughūz and Qarā Khān, adding that Qarā Khān was descended from the prophet Japheth. The *Hasht Bihišt* has a great string of names up to the patriarch Noah! But the names after Qizil Buqā are (naturally enough) quite different from those of the *Aḥsan* and *Sharafnāma*. Regarding Mongol and Turkish genealogies, see Sir H. Howorth's Article, *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 645. The dates of accessions of Sulṭāns in the *Aḥsan* differ slightly from those usually accepted (e.g. by Lane-Poole) in regard to some of the earlier Sulṭāns. Thus:—

<i>Sulṭān</i>	<i>Aḥsan</i>	<i>Lane-Poole</i>	<i>Sharafnāma</i> .
'Uṣmān	d.—727	726	726
Ūrkhān	d.—759	761	761
Murād	d.—791	792	793
Muḥammad	d.—825	824	825
Murād	d.—855	855	854

Many of the places mentioned I cannot identify; I have queried these in the translation; possibly readings in the text are sometimes corrupt. Nor do I think it necessary to discuss the locality of these places, for they have little to do with this history. They can mostly be traced in Hammer-Purgstall, or in Charmoy's 'Fastes'.

(3) *Lawand*... died (982 A.H., 1574 A.D.). On Lawand's death at an advanced age Kakheti was occupied by his sons Eli Mourza, Khoṣro, and Wakhtang. But Alexander—who was another son by Thinathin, a wife who had been repudiated by Lawand, and who according to one report had killed Lawand—eventually defeated them and became king of Kakheti, reigning till 1605 A.D. (Brosset, *Georgian Chronicles*).

(4) *Ma'sūm Beg Şafawī*. The name must be a copyist's error in the original of the three MSS. I have used, for it occurs in them all, yet Ma'sūm Beg had been dead some years.

### 983 A.H.

(1) *Kuhak river*, i.e. the Zarafshān river of Samarqand. Bābur says it is so called because "it comes out from under the upland of the Little Hill (Kohik) lying between it and the town" (p. 76, Bāburnāma). In Mir Izzatullāh's *Travels in Central Asia* (Govt. of India, Foreign Department Press, Calcutta, 1872), p. 63 we read "The river Kohuk, leaving the Sumurkand hills about 12 Krosh to the north-east of Bokhara, flows past the city, thence taking a westerly direction, slightly north". So it is still called the Kuhak, as it was in the days of Timūr (Zafarnāma, where it is often mentioned, e.g. Vol. II, p. 222).

(2) *Sent his son Muhammad Qulī to Court*. According to the Ta'rīkh-i-Ālam-Ārāy-i-'Abbāsī this prince stayed at the Persian Court till 1001 A.H., when he fled back to Khwārazm.

### 984 A.H.

(1) *Death of the Shāh*. Hammer-Purgstall says he was poisoned; I do not know on what authority. The Ta'rīkh-i-Qipchāqkhānī says his excessive, or careless, use of a depilatory brought on a fever from which he died. This is also stated in the Ta'rīkh-i-Ālam-Ārāy-i-'Abbāsī. Iskandar Munshī says that Ḥakīm Abū Naṣr was charged with putting poison in the depilatory. He adds that at the time of Ṭahmāsp's death he was himself in Ḥusayn Beg Yūzbāshī's house.

(2) *Mustanşir Billāh*, reigned as Fāṭimid Khalifa of Egypt from 427 to 487 A.H.

(3) *Sultān Ḥaydar claimed the throne*. The Sharafnāma says that Ḥusayn Beg Yūzbāshī ("that evil man"), and 'Alī Khān and Zāl Georgians, with the approval of Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Bahrām Mirzā and son-in-law of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, brought Ḥaydar into the Palace, so as to be on the spot and ready to ascend the throne. Parī Khān Khānam, thereupon, sent a message to her uncle Shamkhāl, and he, with Ḥusayn Qulī Khulafā Rūmlū, Amīr Arslān Beg Afshār, and Turkmāns, Afshārs, and Kurds, entered the Ḥaram garden in the middle of the night—thus cutting off Ḥaydar and threatening his capture. Hearing of this, Ḥusayn Beg Yūzbāshī and the Ustājilūs came with Sultān Ibrāhīm, but found the gates shut against them. Then Ḥaydar put on a woman's dress, and tried to escape from the Palace and join his supporters. But Shamkhāl saw and pursued him, and tore off his "chādūr"; and he was killed by a Circaṣsian slave. Shamkhāl cut off his head, and threw it among the Ustājilūs, who were defeated and retired.



Iskandar Munshī says that the supporters of Ismā'il at this time were the first to call themselves 'Shāhsewan'.

Don Juan apparently calls Ḥusayn Beg "the Eunuch Akhtāh Husayn".

(4) *The Mill Stones*—some locality near Qazwīn.

(5) *Qahqaha*. The Aḥsan does not record the sending of Ismā'il to this fort, nor the reason for it. It appears that in 963 A.H. Ismā'il was sent to Herāt in place of Muḥammad Khudābanda, and 'Alī Sultān Takalū was sent with him, with orders to hand him over to Muḥammad Khān Sharafu'd-dīn, and to bring back Prince Muḥammad. Ismā'il insulted Muḥammad Khān, and even attempted his life. Muḥammad Khān followed 'Alī Sultān back to Qazwīn, and reported Ismā'il's behaviour to the Shāh. Further improper acts in Herāt followed, and in 964 A.H., Ismā'il was deprived of his post, and Sūnduk Beg was sent to bring him back. When Sūnduk Beg and Ismā'il reached Sāwa on the way to Qazwīn, Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafawī was sent to arrest Ismā'il and take him to Qahqaha, which he did.

As for Qahqaha, I find it is often supposed to be near Tūs, i.e. the Kahka, which is now a station on the Transcaspien railway, the fort of which was rebuilt by Timūr in 784 A.H. But this can hardly have been the castle in which Ismā'il was confined. It is too far away, and at the time it was too much exposed to Uzbek raids to have been suitable. The name may have been given to several forts—whether it means "laughter" (at the feeble attempts of enemies to attack it), or "retreat" (which was what all assailants had to do). Hammer-Purgstall suggests that our Qahqaha was the same as Alamūt, and this suggestion is mentioned by Charmoy, who, however, seems to prefer the view that Qahqaha was between Qazwīn and Tabriz. Herbert says, "Caykahe castle neere Tabriz". Don Juan says "between Qazwin and Tabriz—being 150 leagues from the former city and 30 from the latter, but at some distance to the northward in the direction of Erivan"—a description which it is not very easy to follow. Malcolm (Vol. I, p. 514) says that his informant stated that it was "the modern Sheshāh", which his map shows as just north of the Aras river, i.e. Shusha. This is not inconsistent with the details of Ismā'il's march to Qazwīn. He took a week to reach Ardabil. (He would not go to Ardabil at all—much less in a week—if he had marched from the neighbourhood of Tūs). Ardabil was on the way from Qahqaha to Qazwīn. Ismā'il would march slowly at first, to collect his followers—as the narrative tells us he did. Two of his stopping places are mentioned—Yāfat and Urshaq. Perhaps Yāfat may be Javat, at the former junction of the Kūr and Aras rivers. Barbier de Meynard writes of Urshaq, "montagne près de Mougan, province de l'Azerbaïdjan". Malcolm seems to be right about Qahqaha.

As for Ismā'il's route after Ardabil, the general direction is clear, but some of the villages cannot be identified.

(6) *Sūlāq Ḥusayn Takalū* was Governor of Dinawar. Sūlāq = one armed.

(7) *Qarāja Dāgh men*. These were followers of Khalifa-i-Anṣār, who was Governor of Qarāja Dāgh (south of the Aras river).

(8) *Ḥusayn the bad was brought*. According to the Sharafnāma he was imprisoned for eight months in Qazwīn, and then put to death by Ismā'il's order. Iskandar Munshī says he died in prison of diarrhoea shortly before Ismā'il's death.

(9) *Shabānkāra*. This is mentioned in the Nuzhalū'l-qulūb as a district of Fārs, east of Shīrāz, containing Nīrīz and other towns. Charmoy (Vol. I, p. 116) derives the word from شبان (چویان) and کار i.e. pastoral. See also the history given by Ibn-al-Balkhī in the article by Le Strange in J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 9. The men of the Shabānkāra tribe had originally, he says, been herdsman in Fārs, and there were five subdivisions of the tribe. They are said to have been Kurds, and a powerful Kurdish tribe is now the Shuān tribe, who are graziers and shepherds (شبان). See Soane, To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise, p. 165.

(10) *Shāh Ṭahmāsp*. I have not translated the rhyming genealogy given by Ḥasan. All authorities agree down to Ṣafīyyu'd-dīn—Ismā'il, Ḥaydar, Junayd, Ibrāhīm, Shāh 'Alī, Ṣadru'd-dīn, Ṣafīyyu'd-dīn. Thereafter the Aḥsan and Silsilatu'n-nasab give, Jibrā'il Amin, Qutbu'd-dīn, Ṣāliḥ, Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ, 'Iwāẓ, Firūzshāh. The Lubbu't-tawārikh and Jahān Ārā, followed by the Ta'rikh-i-Qipchāqkhāni, Muḥammad Ṭahir bin Muḥammad Yūsuf Qazwīnī's Khulāsa-i-maqāl, and Malcolm's authority, give:—Jibrā'il, Ṣāliḥ, Qutbu'd-dīn, Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn Rashīd, Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ, 'Iwāẓ, Firūzshāh. Khwāndamīr has:—Jibrā'il, Ṣāliḥ, Qutbu'd-dīn, Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ, 'Iwāẓ, Firūzshāh. The last named, Sayyid Firūzshāh-i-Zarrīn Kulāh, was the first to settle in Ardabil. Before him the names are doubtful, down to Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

In all the MSS. of the Aḥsan the names of Ṭahmāsp's daughters are omitted.

The poet Būqu'l-'ishq is not known to me.

(11) *Opium*, (ترباک فاروق). According to the Ghiyāṣu'l-lughāt this is an electuary composed of seventy ingredients (ترباق کبیر معجونى است مرکب از هفتاد ادویه و این را ترباق فاروق نیز گویند دافع جمیع زهرها و ترباق). ترباق is merely the Arabicised form of ترباک. The word originally meant an antidote to poison, as in Sa'dī's Būstān, Book I, کند زهر جایکه ترباک نیست; the meaning "opium" seems to be of later use. Still it may mean opium here.

## 985 A.H.

(1) *Pilangān*, a fort near Shahrizūr. Its Chief, Iskandar bin Muḥammad bin Ghaybullāh Beg, had come to Ṭahmāsp's Court at Qazwīn, and had also submitted to Ismā'il II. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* it was after Ismā'il's death that Sūlāq Ḥusayn attacked *Pilangān*, and took it. It was soon after retaken by Turkish troops in Shahrizūr, and became part of Turkish territory.

(2) *Nizāmu'l-mulk*, i.e. Murtaẓā, the Nizāmshāhī King of Aḥmad-nagar (972-996 A.H.).

(3) *Friday*; if the other days of the week are right, this should apparently be Wednesday.

(4) *Bhang*. The Persian is مغز فیل (Elephant brain). Malcolm says "filaoun"; Iskandar Munshī writes فلونيا. It may be an opium compound, as Malcolm says. Another tale, which is reported by Herbert, is that Ismā'il was strangled in his bed—"slain in his bed by Pereacon COUNA and 4 Sultans, who entered habited like women"—and further picturesque details are given by Herbert in another place. This version is also given by Don Juan and is accepted by Hammer-Purgstall, who says that the Princess murdered Ismā'il by getting him strangled by fifteen men disguised as women. Ismā'il is said to have been tolerant in religious belief—even if not inclined towards Sunniism—and to have intended orders allowing Sunnis and Shī'as to follow their own ideas. This may be sufficient to explain any plot against him. Iskandar Munshī gives a fuller description of Ismā'il's death and quotes in full the statement of Ḥusayn Ḥalwāchī. Parī Khān Khānam was suspected of having put poison in Ismā'il's فلونيا.

(5) *Ismā'il bin Ḥāfiẓ li dīni'llāh*. See O'Leary's *History of the Fāṭimid Khalifate*, p. 231. The young Fāṭimid was murdered 549 A.H. (A.D. 1154).

(6) *Khudābanda*. Ḥasan does not mention "the natural weakness of his eyes, which rendered him almost blind" (Malcolm).

(7) *Ribāṭ-i-Dāng*. See note on A.H. 940(4).

*Ribāṭ-i-Sayḥab* is unknown to me, and the reading is doubtful.

(8) *Sulaymān Pādshāh*. This is the former ruler of Badakhshān with whom Humāyūn contended in 954 A.H.; see note on 954 A.H. (6). He was attacked and overthrown by 'Abdullāh bin Iskandar Uzbek.

(9) *Parī Khān Khānam*. Malcolm says that Parī Khān Khānam was Ṭahmāsp's favourite Sultāna and sister of Shamkhāl "Chief of the Cherkus". But this is a mistake. She was Ṭahmāsp's daughter, and the niece of Shamkhāl. She was born in 955 A.H. in the Shāh's camp on the bank of a river, just when news came that the Turkish Sultān had retreated from Tabriz (Jahān Ārā). Iskandar Munshī says she was Ṭahmāsp's second daughter.

(10) *Paid the troops.* It would appear that Ḥasan wrote the bulk of this chronicle in 980 A.H.; for he was writing in that year the events of the years 907, 958, 974 A.H. He added the part nearly up to Ismā'il's death by Ismā'il's order before Ismā'il died, and then concluded his history after the death of that monarch.

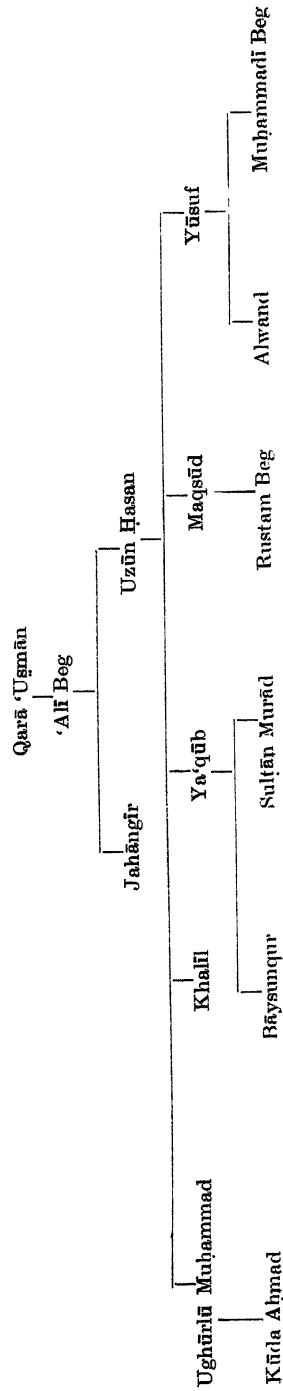
(11) *Ūgūtāy Qā'ān*, son of Chingīz Khān, famous for his generosity; see Browne, Vol. III, p. 383; and for his character Blochet, Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols, p. 158-60 (Gibb. Mem. Vol. XII).

(12) *Tasūj*, on the northern shore of L. Urmiya; *Wuldiyān* 40 miles N.W. of Tasūj.

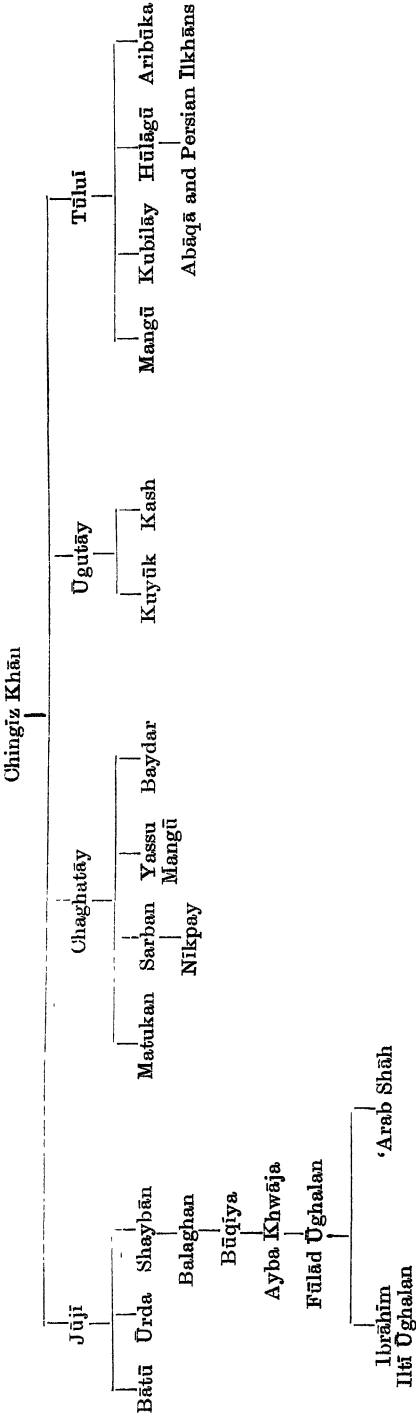
(13) *The Erzerūm Pāshā.* I do not find this fight described or mentioned, in any history; there is nothing about it in the Sharafnāma. Sultān Murād of Turkey was, however, hostile to Persia, and preparing for attack; and it is likely that his Pāshās would try a little fighting on their own account. Don Juan writes that Sultān Mūrād "sent word to the Pashas of Van, Erzerum and Greater Armenia, . . . that all of them together should . . . ravage the towns and castles across their respective frontiers" (p. 133).

*Genealogical Tables.*

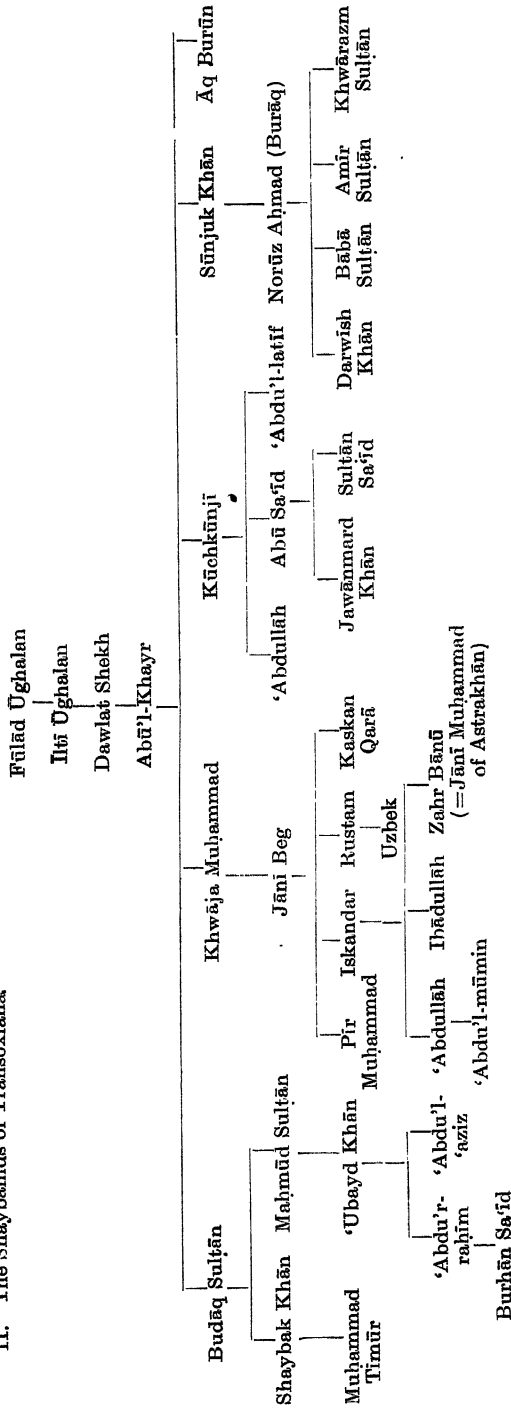
## 1. The family of Uzūn Ḥasan Bāyandur.



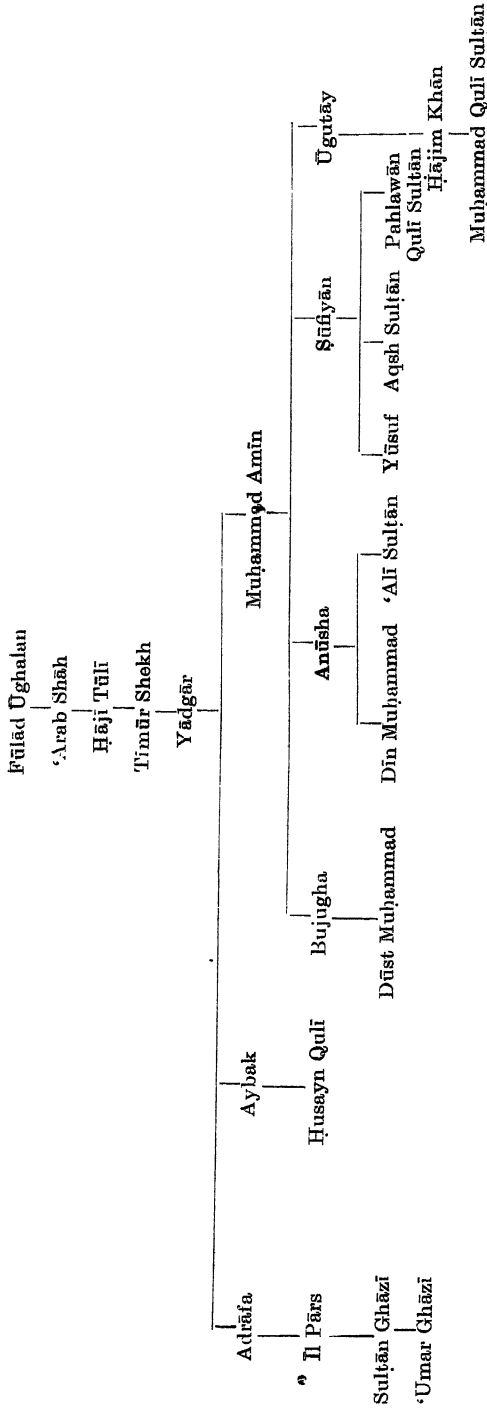
II. Chingiz Khān to Fūlād Ūghalan.



## II. The Shaybānids of Transoxiana.



IV. The Khāns of Khīva.









# ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>• For</i>	<i>Read</i>
6	10	Şa'dī	Sa'dī
14	25	present	presents
23	29	(88)	(28)
45	last	Astārābād	Astarābād
55	25	Kuy (13)	Kuy (10)
66	30	Rayhan	Rayhān
73	25	Warsāq	Warsāqs
77	33	Circassiān	Circassian
79	28	„	„
98	15	Sa'd	Sa'd
107	4	;	.
114	7	Khuy	Khūy—
121	36	him	he
146	17	Khunustu	Khunustū
149	26	Ādiljawāz	‘Ādiljawāz
150	34	„	„
154	10	overcome	overcame
161	12	So Ma'sūm	—Ma'sūm
„	20	straightaway	straightway
163	21	Adam	Adham
„	24	Nakhchiwan	Nakhchiwān
171	5	conches	conchs
181	14	Mar'ash	Mar'ash
193	14	„	„
184	25	Ma'sūm	Ma'sūm
188	6	Basra	Başra
189	6	„	„
188	29	(1)	<i>del.</i>
194	19	Salim	Salīm
240	10	944 (7)	945 (5)
285	33	Gibbs	Gibb.





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